

CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

C R R U S.

BY XENOPHON.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK,

BY THE LATE

HON. MAURICE ASHLEY, Esq;

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A PREFACE, by Way of DEDICATION,

To the Right Honourable the Lady ELIZABETH HARRIS.

The FOURTH EDITION, Corrected.

L O N D O N,

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MDCCLXXVIII.





T O T H E

RIGHT HONOURABLE the

Lady ELIZABETH HARRIS.

M A D A M,

A MAN, who is indebted to the public for leisure, and for freedom from servile employment, is under obligation to acquire knowledge; and principally in religion, policy, and the art of war. You will, in probability, think, that morals ought to be added to the number; but as religion may be divided into two sorts, real and political, and as real religion can by no means be disjoined from morals, it does not seem proper to mention them as a distinct head.

THE objects of the mind in real religion are the greatest in the world, the Divinity, and all divine things. When the mind has imbibed a full knowledge of these to its utmost capacity, it may be said to be religious: It then sees the Divinity in all things; it sees it in human nature, and in all the laws of affection and duty in its several relations; it sees it in the whole world, and in every part of it, from the highest to the lowest productions, both animate and inanimate. The religious man thinks himself not

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to be * *concealed from God in any of his motions*. True sentiments of God are the foundation of our duties to him: True knowledge of ourselves settles our duty in that respect likewise, and establishes a rule of rating the value of ourselves and others different from that of the multitude. The dignity of the more divine part of man is asserted †; the *Cæsars, Herods, and Pilates*, the high priests and scribes, the powerful, the rich, and the many, are of no note here ‡. False opinions, and an over-valuation of riches, honours, and all the other meaner concerns of life, whence all vice arises, cannot be entertained where this knowledge is §. Our duty may indeed be divided into three parts, as settled by our three principal relations; to God, to other men, and to ourselves; and they may be differently termed, but they are but the main branches of the one moral science. If morals be disjoined from their relation to what is divine, and confined to a certain system of manners, contrived for the regulation of our own personal concerns of body and mind, and to guide us in our conduct amongst men, they then become something entirely different from what is before meant; and they dwindle into an *Epicurean* moral, an art of settling certain rules of behaviour upon a principle of interest, convenience, or pleasure. The case of religion is alike ill when so disjoined from human concerns; for then is the Divine Being, like *Epicurus's* Divinities, confined to the highest heavens, and unconcerned in the administration of the lower world. And this, in the *Epicureans*, was but excluding Providence from the world with a sort of compliment, that seems to have been

* Arrain. *Epiët.* Lib. i. c. 12. 14.

† Matt. xx. 25. xxi. 23. 31. xxii. 16, &c. xxiii. 2, &c. xxvii. 20.

‡ Luke vi. 24, &c. Matt. v. 29, 30.

§ *Ench. Epiët.* c. 37, 38, &c.

intended as a skreen from the reproach of atheism, rather than to have arisen from any real opinion of such beings: But real religion is the summit and completion of all knowledge; runs through all, and arises from collecting what is divine in all things.

* The fowls of the air are fed; the stature of man is limited; † the lillies of the field are cloathed by Providence; without it a bird falls not to the ground, nor a hair from the head: This is Christianity, or the doctrine of our Saviour, is real religion, and is not to be found but in the mind of the wise and good, and of the few ‡ who enter in at the strait gate.

BUT when religion comes to be spoken of as a national establishment, it is no longer the real, but the political, and makes part of the state; it has its lawful forms and ceremonies under the administration of its ministers, who are regulated by the state, and paid for their service. One may very justly think, that he has but little knowledge of Christianity and real religion, who does not see the evident difference; if they are the same, then were the § *Ephe-
sian* silversmiths, and the *Sacheverells* of all ages, and their followers, extremely religious; for great zealots they certainly were for the political religion; but in the reality they had no knowledge, and had nothing to do with it.

The different turns that have been given to established religions, as governments have differed from each other, or changed within themselves, will serve to illustrate this distinction of religion into real and political. The *Greek* religion differed remarkably in cities and people, that differed in their genius and policy. The best and bravest of the *Greeks* applied their principal worship to the noblest and most

* Matt. xxvi. 26, 27, 28.

† Matt. vii. 13.

‡ Matt. x. 29.

§ Acts xix. 23.

chaste of their deities, as to *Juno* or *Pallas*; others of them, that were more tyrannical in their form of civil government, and more loose in their manners, addressed their principal worship to *Venus* or *Bacchus*. The same deities had a chaste and decent worship paid them in one place, and in another a more pompous one, and more loose. This consecration of particular cities and people to particular deities, as their different forms of government and genius led them, is intimated in *Homer* by the great partiality he exhibits in particular deities to particular cities and people. This divine partiality reached even to private men, and differed according to their characters: One deity favoured *Achilles*, another *Ulysses*, another *Paris*; as amongst states, which are political persons, and different in characters, one deity favoured *Athens*, another *Argos*, and another *Paphos*. The *Roman* religion, by the account of their historians, * was more plain and decent in their earlier and better times; but in the time of *Julius Cæsar* it was become full of lewdness and extravagance. Not very long after *Julius*, Christianity arose; it was the real and true religion in the breasts of its few true professors long before its name was embraced by multitudes, armies, and emperors, and so became the public religion. After this its establishment, what has been the variety of forms it has appeared in? Through many changes it at last appeared in the compleat Papal form which long prevailed almost over all *Christendom*. And in this form how many mean turns has it served? How has it been made subservient to the interest of princes and priests that were its votaries? About two hundred years ago established Christianity took another turn, and appears now in several nations in different forms, but in *England* particu-

* Plutarch's Life of Numa. Dionysius Halicar. Lib. ii.

larly. And since the change made at the Reformation, how have some of our priests used it in different turns of government? Many have made it a support of the tyranny of princes, and destructive to the civil rights of men. Real christianity, mean while, is none of all these changeable establishments and human institutions, nor ever can be; but stands upon its own ground; and whether it be the religion of the multitude, and national, or not national, or whatever be the forms of it in national establishments, is one and the same in itself, firm, and unalterable, and will undoubtedly remain to the end of the world, whether owned or not owned by any publick establishment indifferently.

If it can still be objected, that real religion and christianity is now become the established and political religion; and that, of consequence, they are the same, and not to be distinguished, I must, in answer, repeat, that real religion is the science of the Divinity, and of all things divine; and is to be learned from the great volume of nature, as well as from scripture; as Geometry from *Euclid*; and other sciences from like means. And every man is only so far knowing in a science, as he has applied his own faculties to the laws of it; for no man is master of any science by another's understanding. This, therefore, stands entirely upon private judgment, and must ever do so. Established religion is a form of public worship, chosen by the public; and its rules are prescribed by the political power, with certain persons appointed to administer in it according to those settled rules. The political power of this nation has accordingly established a form, and has provided, abundantly, both for the education and maintainance of men to officiate in it; has ordered them in public discourses to instruct the people in real religion, as far as they are capable of

it; and has appointed them the scripture, as the rule and measure of their instructions; with certain canons, articles, and rubricks, limiting times, forms, and ceremonies, farther than the scripture does; and, in some instances, limiting likewise points of faith. But this it does modestly; with acknowledgment of its own fallibility; and, in consequence of this concession, it allows a liberty to dissent. Now this stands upon the public judgment of the state. When, therefore, by foreign force, or intestine broils, the political frame is dissolved, all this form falls to the ground. But real religion certainly cannot be said to fall with the political frame, unless one make all religion to be merely political, and a creature of the state; which is direct atheism. And, even while this christian form happily subsists under a quiet government, and that nine parts in ten of a whole people embrace it, certainly no real christian will say, that nine parts in ten of so great a multitude are sincere, true, and real christians; that the common herd of men, who are under a necessity of giving their whole time to the procuring themselves necessaries; or the men of business, who addict themselves to gain; or the prince or grandee, who prostitutes his time to pleasure and diversion, are truly christian, and religious upon principles of science. It must be owned, indeed, that the very worst and most ignorant of the multitude may have great zeal for the established religion; and this zeal, under wicked leaders, has raised the greatest tumults and disorders amongst men, and has carried christians by profession to actions extremely unchristian and inhuman. Real and established christianity must, therefore, be distinct, since they never fall together, and since they subsist together but in few instances. If religion have any thing to do with science or knowledge, this must be true; but there are many, I fear, that strike religion out of the catalogue of sciences,

sciences, and list it among the blind passions of men; as does *Hobbes*, who defines religion *as a fear of power invisible, from tales publickly told*. And between him, and some certain managers of religion, there is this difference, that he would have his civil sovereign be the only authentic teller of these tales; and these divines would be the tellers of them themselves: both equally enemies to the understandings of men, but antagonists to each other about who shall hold the tyranny.

THE mention of Mr. *Hobbes* suggests likewise some assertions of his, relating to man in the state of nature, and which perhaps may not seem to be entirely foreign to the present subject. He makes the natural state of man to be a state of war and enmity against each other; where there is no rule of just and unjust, right and wrong; where power is the only measure of right; and where fear and love of power are the chief passions of men. Now, had he been describing the state of men who had long lived under a political form of government; and who, upon the dissolution of it, had broken out into all the irregularities possible; a prince on one side claiming a sovereignty independent upon all human authority, and his partizans supporting him with arms, without much pretence to religion, and without regard to justice or honesty; and the chief leaders of the opposite faction, acting with as little regard to natural justice, under a mask of sanctity and religion; he had then, indeed, made a just and natural description of such a state of man. But if he calls this the natural state of the human creature, as it came out of the hands of God, before its having lost its natural rule and law of life, before its being rendered corrupt and artificial, it seems evidently absurd. But Mr. *Hobbes* may be excused; for, as he charges the antient writers of politics with copying the political schemes from the ancient common-

commonwealths, so he plainly copied his picture of the human mind, and of his commonwealth, from his own mind, and from the state of things as he had seen them in those confused times, which had undoubtedly made that unfortunate impression of fear upon his mind, and gave it so wrong a turn. But if we consider every species of creatures in the world, we shall find there is a natural rule and law of life belonging to each, with respect to their food and sustenance; to their living in herds, or otherwise; to their defence against beasts that are naturally their enemies; to the sounds by which they express their fears, their pains, their wants, and their pleasures; and to their places of rest, and the whole œconomy of their young. Our common cattle, when wild, and in their natural state, have a natural rule in all these several respects: they affect each other's company, and accordingly they herd; and when they are grazing, if a beast of prey appear, * *the bull issues out for the sake of the herd*: or † when they are attacked by man, there is a general motion amongst them; and whilst the bulls advance, and place themselves in front against their adversaries, the cows range themselves behind their males, and the young retire behind all. They understand each other's sounds, and are affectionately careful of their young. This natural frame of passions in each species of animals, distinguishes the kinds and the sexes; and the characters of the several animals are as much constituted by this inward form, as they are distinguished by the outward: the lion and the tiger are both creatures of prey; but in the character of the lion it is said, that man has observed a ‡ sort of generosity and gratitude,

* Arrian, Epiet. l. i. c. 2.

† Dampier, Vol. II. Part ii. Page 99.

‡ A. Gellius L.

that is not in the other. The elephant is entirely different from both the last mentioned, and has a character particular to itself: and so of all other creatures. The human creature, without doubt, has likewise from nature its inward frame, and a certain rule of life accordingly. If the words right and wrong, just and unjust, be only applicable to the arbitrary limitations of property, made by men already formed into political society, so let them be; they are then not to be applied to the natural state. But if, in the instance before, the bull should desert his part, and take the station of the cow or calf; if the cow should devour the young; or the calf should fear its own species, be averse to it, and herd with goats or sheep; one might be allowed to say, that this would be erring from the rule of nature; one might call it deformed, ugly, unnatural, and monstrous; as, on the contrary, a steady adherence to this rule might be called beautiful, comely, natural, and being true to its part. Beauty and deformity are not more evidently applicable to the outward form, than to this inward one. Then, as to the character of the human creature in its natural state, without doing great wrong to ourselves in that state, and violence to our judgments in this, we cannot but think that we should naturally be as great lovers of each others company as any other creature whatever; and, of consequence, should herd, and be social, ready to hazard ourselves for others of our kind, and for our young. It is not easy to imagine that we should be naturally savage and cruel: We should certainly have a horror and aversion to the feeding upon warm flesh and blood of expiring creatures, which some animals do with pleasure: We should as certainly loath and avoid the sight and smell of rotten carcases,

carcases, which is the delight of others; our food would be of another kind: We should certainly have as great an affection to our young, as any other creature has to theirs: We should certainly be as sagacious as any, in providing either in common, or otherwise, for all our little needs in that state, and, perhaps, a great deal more than any other. But what our natural language would be; what our food would consist of; how the order and rule between male and female, with respect to themselves and to their young, would then stand, both as to the continuance and manner of that particular relation; these are things that are not to be limited with any certainty now. But, in the whole, it seems evident enough, that we are naturally a mild, gentle, sociable, and * compassionate creature. Ambition, and grasping at high posts in the state, and our present artificial set of passions, and the barbarous transgressions of rule and order that have followed upon them, belong not to that state of things. This natural state of ours, was the golden age of the antient heathen world; and if the account that *Moses* gives of Paradise before the fall be allegory, and not fact, as Dr. *Burnet*, in his *Archæologia* asserts, our natural state was certainly represented by that allegory. Besides, there seems to be little reason to doubt, but that men under civil government would be as manageable by their magistrates, as flocks and herds by their pastors and shepherds, were it not for the vice and ignorance of such human herdsmen and pastors; did but they, as * *Xenophon* says, act their part with understanding and skill. And then, even upon the dissolution of government, and things being brought to confusion, as there is in all things a beautiful rule and order

set by nature, so here would there be still a rule. The arrogant, the proud, the ambitious, such as thought all their fellow-creatures made to serve their ends, would act without regard to religion, to faith, to all that was excellent and beautiful; and the extent of their power would be their only measure: But, perhaps, a few would still be faithful, modest, brave, humane, and religious, and would act or suffer handsomely; at least there would be an evident difference in the characters of men so left to themselves, in proportion to their sense of this natural and divine rule, and its being preserved untainted in their minds, and not sullied or obliterated by vile and unnatural sentiments and passions.

By what has been before said, it may be decided, whether the independance of religion upon civil government, may be justly claimed, or no. The thing plainly decides itself: Real religion is a mental subsistence; * *It is not here nor there, but within us;* † *It is not of this world:* Had it been otherwise, our Saviour had made an appeal to arms, and to the powers of this world. It is absolutely independant, and has nothing to do with the magistrate: It is a thing of a noble nature, and its truths are yet less subject to political jurisdiction than mathematical truths, in which, it would be ridiculous to say, that the magistrate ought to decide. But to say that the government has nothing to do with the national religion, which itself established and made national, seems very absurd: And for the ministers, whose forms are prescribed them by the political power, whose privileges are limited by the same, and who are indebted to the public for their education and maintenance; to say, that they are independant upon it, seems a little arrogant. It is, undoubtedly,

* Luke xvii. 21.

† John xviii. 36.

proper that every nation should have their artists in religious concerns, as the * *Persians* had; but if these men assert, that they are the last resort in affairs of religion, let the priesthood consist of those who, of all the proprietors of the territory, are most venerable for nobility of birth, for wisdom, for years passed with untainted integrity; these will be better directors than the necessitous, the mean of birth, the unwise, and the young; and yet can be no more than proposers and helps to men in their choice; the last resort remains still with the choosers.

WHEN the public, therefore, has chosen its religion, which must be done, both that it may discharge its own duty, and to prevent the duty of the multitude from being left undirected, and at the mercy of superstition, and every private guide; it may then be asked, whether this religious establishment ought to be imposed upon all private men? That it may be imposed by power, is certain; for the magistrates and multitude, or the absolute monarch and his army, after having made their own choice, may act in this as they please. If they are heathen, they may impose the worship of a plurality of gods: If they are Turks or Jews, they may oblige a man to deny our Saviour to be the Christ and Son of God: If they are corrupt pretenders to Christianity, they may oblige one to say that Christianity is what it is not: And they may, any of them, if they please, oblige one to say, that there are no antipodes; that eclipses will not happen according to astronomical observations; that the three angles of a triangle are not equal to two right ones; or, upon refusal, they may inflict punishment at will. But will and power are often used unjustly and unwisely. The Papacy is well known to use this imposing

* *Cyropædia.*

power; and *Hobbes*, who is a passionate advocate of arbitrary power, recommends this use of it in his *Leviathan*. But there seems not to be much justice or humanity, and as little of christianity in the practice. And with respect to these impositions in affairs of religion, and the misery that ever attends them, the case seems to be this: That they are not the original cause of misery and confusion, but the corrupt effects only of the dissolution or imperfection of political forms of government, or of ignorance and vice in princes. For, if a decent form of religion be established by the political power, there will be but few that will be dissenting from it; and a liberty in this kind is what the generosity, justice, and benignity of good governments will always allow. But, if the political orders are broken, and the multitude deprived of their orderly guidance and leading, they then form themselves into separate herds, as ignorance, superstition, and corrupt interests lead them, and fall foul of one another. And this is the fertile soil of tyranny: Hence sprung the *Cæsars*, the *Mahomets*, the *Popes*, and the *Cromwells*; creatures of multitudes, that have been destitute of the blessing of just and wise political orders. And in such circumstances of men, the laws of justice and humanity find no place. So that when men hear of strange absurdities imposed, and great cruelties practised in consequence of them, instead of venting a great deal of wrath against the craft and wickedness of priests, they ought rather to lament the distempers that societies of men are subject to. As for instance: The *Romans* were a society of men formed from a collection of thieves and plunderers; who, when they had fixed themselves a habitation, made it a sponge to imbibe criminals of all sorts, and such as were too vile to
subsist

subſiſt under their own governments. The way that their hiſtorians took to render their original divine waſ, by relating that the god of war debauched a prieſteſs profeſſing Chriſtianity: From this conjunction of war and violence with unchaſtity, and breach of religious profeſſion, there came the two youths, that ſucked the milk of a female beaſt of prey: One of theſe youths murdered the other, and founded *Rome*. However this fable may have been taken as compliment, it looks like the artful contrivance of ſome *Greck*, to give, under this diſguiſe, a character of the *Roman* ſtate. This city, thus formed, proceeded upon its firſt principles, and made its progreſs by plunder and rapine; had little elſe in its frame but what was military: Their booty and conqueſts were diſtributed, indeed, but never juſtly, even under what they call their commonwealth*. The common people were generally abuſed and cheated in it, though there were perpetual quarrels about their dividends. And as this city, at laſt, enſlaved almoſt the whole world, ſo it deſtroyed every thing that carried the face of civil government. Then it corrupted ſtill further within itſelf, and changed into a monſtrous tyranny. Letters, arts, and ſciences, ſunk throughout the world. Then, when this tyranny corrupted and decayed, the eccleſiaſtical leviathan began to raiſe its head; and when it fell quite to pieces, and became divided into ſeveral parts independant upon each other, the eccleſiaſtical republic aſſerted its dominion over all, and in the miſt of theſe ruins formed its independant policy. When, therefore, the corruption of civil governments, and the ignorance of princes, have given exiſtence to ſuch forms, can it

* Plutarch, Vid. Num.

be expected that men should be false to their own public? Can it be thought, that men who are trained up from their youth in a certain order and form, distinct from the civil, without dependance upon it, or expectations of any honours or rewards, but in degrees and orders of their own, and under their own governors, should act for an establishment foreign to their own? When they must know that their own foundations stand upon the ruin of civil forms, and must owe their continuance to the depression of them? Mens zeal in this case is not to be wondered at. If they who are in the civil interest will entirely discharge themselves of the noblest knowledge in the world, of all judgment in what is pleasing or displeasing to God, and will leave the sovereign decision in these matters to others, it is certainly just that they to whom these matters are thus left, should prescribe to those who are thus abandoned to ignorance; should tell them how to behave in their families; how to govern their own persons; how to act in converse and dealings with others; how to act in the public; and should dictate to them in all things. And the particular policy of these divines ought, with still more reason, to be left entirely to themselves. Some nations have, indeed, protested against this hierarchy; and in most others there is a greater disposition to judge for themselves, than is pleasing to the ecclesiastics. Letters, science, and arts, have within these two or three centuries revived. But if the civil forms, that are now established in the world, moulder away to nothing, by means of the corruption and ignorance of the managers, the ecclesiastics will justly become their masters. For, as * *Cyrus* says, "God has so established things,

* *Cyropædia.*

“that they who will not impose upon themselves the
“task of labouring for their own advantage, shall
“have other task-masters given them.” Supposing,
then, that the ecclesiastics have reduced the rest of
men to their obedience, as every the meanest priest is
entitled to rise to the highest dignities, and, when
admitted to his freedom in the hierarchy, is not
debarred from knowledge and letters, as those of the
laity are; as their monarch and grandees are elective,
and not hereditary; and the absolute sovereignty is
not lodged in the single person, but that their
general councils claim a share with him in it; the
body of them ought then to take care that their own
chiefs do not affect a tyranny over them, and serve
them as *Cæsar* did *Rome*. And then if the virtue
of their frame be preserved till after they have
broken the lay-interest to pieces, they may then,
perhaps, assume the sword into their own hands,
as the templers, who were an order amongst them,
were once possessed of it; and may come to think
it fit to transmit the property of the world to their
own children, and not choose their successors from
amongst the children of their servants and vassals.
This will be the spring of a new civil interest,
much wiser than that upon whose ruins it is built;
and it will continue so, while the ingenuous and free
cultivate knowledge, and hold the sword. But let
them once give up knowledge, and drop the sword
into the hands of hirelings, they must submit to the
consequence of having their servants become their
masters. The priesthood, thus supposed masters of
the world, may then, perhaps, divide themselves
into distinct governments, by distinct territories.
And though they are not now so divided, yet they
ought, in truth, to be accounted a civil government
within themselves, distinct from all others. And
if one consider the share of property and revenue
that

that they are possessed of in the several countries of *Europe*, they will be found to be a very great and powerful state. Mean while, it matters not what the things are that are imposed upon men, who give up their judgments in the greatest concerns; for even truths published for mens belief, when received without knowledge and understanding, are no better than tales and forgeries.

As religion is divided into two heads of science, so may virtue be divided into several; as, for instance, into real, political, and military, as well as others. The real falls into the head of morals, and real religion, and is one and the same thing under several names; but temperance in eating and drinking, ability to deny one's-self one's usual rest, to undergo toil and labour, to sleep in open air, and contempt of danger and death; these are military virtues, may arise from custom and institution, or from necessity, or from ambition, and may be the virtues of robbers and pirates. The hero, in the following papers, will give you cause to think of this distinction; particularly in his speech when he is grown a man, and is setting out upon his * *Median* expedition, as well as upon many other occasions.

WHAT is here sent you to employ some hours of your leisure, relates to religion, as well as to politics and war, though this last seems to be the chief subject of it.

As to politics, the account given of the *Medes* and *Assyrians*, the luxury and effeminacy of the *Median* court, the absolute dependance of all upon the prince's will, the effeminacy and meanness of the people, the poorness of their military discipline, the manner of protecting the territory by fortresses and garrisons, the waste of lands upon the borders inha-

* *Cyropædia*.

bited only by wild beasts, shew the nature of arbitrary governments. The noble orders established amongst the *Persians*, the education of the ingenuous amongst them, the rights of sovereignty lodged in a public council, the laws of public weal established as guides both to prince and people, the bravery of the people, and the wisdom of their military discipline, shew the virtue and power of free governments. There seems indeed to be something in the story that suggests this defect to be in the *Persian* frame; that the free, the ingenuous, the gentlemen, the noble, (call them by which name you please,) are reduced to too small a number; and too small a number of great-ones commonly implies their riches to be too great with respect to the rest of the people: Or if the riches and power of the gentleman be but inconsiderable, and the people have them not, then the prince remains too weighty in the scale, and the rest are but dependants and servants. Now in either of these cases, the ambition of great families, or that of the single one, always prevents the division of the riches and estates amongst greater numbers, and presses on to further increase, till the few become yet fewer, or the single one yet greater; and at last, either the prince, or one of the over-grown few, by riches and numerous dependants, assumes the tyranny: Then to him all become servants, his will is then the only law; he must hold his power by an army; and to compleat all, must hold his own head at the will of that army. This shews the folly of the abettors of arbitrary sway, who pronounce it to be so vile a thing for the prince to be said to hold his power at the will of the multitude; whereas the prince must of necessity hold at the will of a multitude: For supposing him to have destroyed the interest of the honest multitude, who were in possession of the lands and commerce of a country, and to have sub-

jected

jected their power by means of an army, he must then of necessity hold his own power at the will of that multitude of mercenaries. Whoever knows any thing of the story of the *Roman* and *Turkish* armies and emperors, and considers the nature of things, must see, that an absolute prince is a creature and servant of a military multitude, and ever comes uppermost when the mercenary crew have destroyed the civil power. So that in politics the voice of the people is the voice of God, and multitude must and will be the last resort here. * *Julius Cæsar*, and all the able attempters of tyranny in the antient world, understood their art too well to be ignorant of this; and accordingly they laid themselves out entirely in the culture and service of their armies, and of such part of the civil multitude as were most corrupt and necessitous; their own private fortunes were entirely sacrificed to this; all that they acquired by conquest was applied to this, as well as all that they could plunder from their governments and fellow-citizens, for upon this did their sovereignty depend. *Octavius*, the nephew and heir of *Julius*, could not entirely gain his point, till, by little arts of his own, and by the folly of his competitors, the most and best of the legions were brought to declare for him, and to establish him sovereign. Where, therefore, was the last resort and foundation of sovereignty in this case? It belongs only to the poor pedantic modern patrons of tyranny, who mix religion and politics together, to talk of sovereignty by divine right †, independent upon human authority, and accountable only to God; and it belongs only to very weak and conceited affectors of tyranny to give ear

* Dyonis. Halicar. upon Aristodemus, Lib. vii. Suetonius, Lib. i.

† Clarendon's History.

to such poor instructors. There is no manner of doubt but that it has been one of the most common arts of tyranny to bring heaven, and all that is sacred upon earth, into its interest! * *Pisistratus*, when restored to the tyranny at *Athens*, dressed up a woman to personate the goddess *Pallas*, as if the goddess favoured him so far as to introduce him, and attend in her own person at his restoration. *Julius Cæsar*, in an oration he made at the funeral of an aunt, derived himself, by his grandmother, from *Ancus*, one of the kings of *Rome*, and by his father from the goddess *Venus*. After his death, and at the celebration of the first honours paid him as a god, a blazing star appeared, which was given out, and by some believed, to be the soul of *Julius*, received into heaven among the deities. Others of the *Roman* monarchs were likewise deified, so that the elder *Vespasian* made a jest of it; and when he was taken violently ill, he cried out, *I believe I am going to be a god*. A multitude of things of this kind might be mentioned. There is a natural gratitude in the people to the descendants of those that have been benefactors to men, or are thought to have been so, and a natural deference to superior and divine powers; and erectors of tyranny, who have had neither knowledge of God, nor regard to him themselves, nor love to man, always act the impostors, and abuse and play upon the understandings and passions of the multitude. The claim of divine right is the modern art; and princes would undoubtedly have still more divinity and sanctity bestowed upon them, as they had in old days, if the ecclesiastics were not competitors with them in it, and could spare it from themselves. But even these frauds can never be of any effect, if they fail of their

* Herodotus, Lib. i.

intended influence upon the people; *Cæsar* therefore trusted to other means; he never talked so idly of sovereignty, protection, and obedience, as some modern dealers in politics, * who confound themselves and others with these words. *Cæsar's* empire, and that of *Cyrus*, mentioned in the following papers, were not built upon such foundations. Absolute sovereignty is never applicable to a prince, whether at the head of a legal government, or of a tyranny: For in a legal government the prince has law for his rule, as well as the people; his property and rights are limited by that rule, and so are those of the people; the laws and orders of government are the protection both of prince and people. But if the prince affects to be absolute sovereign and lord of all, he must nurse up and cultivate a body of soldiery sufficient for the work, and unite them in interest with him to dissolve the legal frame: Then, if he succeeds, the people are indeed protected, as the people of *Turky* are protected, and as the people of *Rome* were under their emperors; and the army becomes the prince's protection, and in reality sovereign. But how such sovereignty differs from tyranny; how such protection differs from power to oppress; and how such obedience and subjection differs from servitude; can never be made out. And as tyrannies rise thus in a particular state, so great empires, that are but extended tyrannies, make their way through the world by the vice and impotence of neighbouring states: Whereas, by order within themselves, friendship and good faith with each other, little states repel the impotent attacks of great empires, that are powerful only by the vice and weakness of their neighbours. Such hints in the course of the story, and the observations that may be made

* Clarendon's History.

upon them, seem to me to let one more into political knowledge than most of the books and pamphlets that are now written upon that subject.

THE advices given with respect to the art of war, are obvious; and, with all their plainness, are more than most of our present military men now think of.

AND the few instructions, with respect to the established religion and the priests of those days, are not unapplicable to our present times. Nor can it be said, but that the spirit of piety, and deference to superior powers, which runs through the whole, though blended with the established rights, does in some measure relate to real religion, and must needs be pleasing to those who have a sense of it.

THE following papers contain a plain translation of the *Cyropædia*, or Institution of *Cyrus*, written by *Xenophon*, who lived about four hundred years before the birth of our Saviour, in an age productive of great men; though it was the age in which expired those noble forms of government, to which all future ages are indebted for literature, and all noble knowledge. He saw the republics of *Greece*, after their brave defence against the *Persian* power in the age before, by wars amongst themselves nursed up a brood of mercenaries to be their own destruction, which was compleated by *Philip* of *Macedon* at the battle of *Chæronea*. He was a friend and disciple of *Socrates*, that great man who was a remarkable instance of what is before observed with respect to the consequences of broken governments; for he fell a sacrifice to faction; and one of his accusations was a disregard to the established religion; he who had evidently the utmost regard to real religion, had as much knowledge of it as was possible, and was ever strictly observant of the established

established forms : his disciple *Xenophon* felt likewise the displeasure of his countrymen the *Athenians*, for his partiality to the interests of *Sparta*, and of consequence for not favouring the turbulent ambitious measures that his own city approved. *Xenophon* was extremely beautiful in his person* ; and had great modesty, and goodness of temper. He was a man of great knowledge and learning ; but it was of an ingenuous, noble, gentleman-like sort, not sedentary, nor pedantic, and not servile, as all learning may justly be called that is acquired to get money or maintenance by ; he was a great master of political and military skill ; he was extremely religious, and very knowing in all the established rights and ceremonies, of which he was a strict observer upon all occasions. The precept he puts into the mouth of *Cambyses*, father of *Cyrus*, never to engage in any action without consulting the gods, makes a remarkable passage in his book to this purpose. He puts several cases wherein men had sadly miscarried by means of neglect in this kind, and though he do not name persons, yet it seems evident, that he had his eye to particular men, well known to himself, and to his countrymen in those days. And what he says of certain persons, who had engaged their country in ruinous wars, seems evidently meant of *Alcibiades*, who engaged the *Athenians* in other wars, as well as particularly that of *Sicily*† ; which brought destruction or servitude upon all such of them as were personally engaged in that service, and in the consequence occasioned the loss of their government and city. *Alcibiades* was likewise very beautiful in his person, was undoubtedly master of many civil arts ; had eloquence, bravery, and military skill :

* Diog. Laer. Life of Xenophon.

† Plutarch's Life of Alcibiades.

but with respect to religion and virtue, he was the reverse of *Xenophon*; he had no sense of it, but was what one may justly call a free-thinker of those days, and expressed it by a contempt of what his country held sacred. *Xenophon's* manner of pointing him out thus, allowing the application to be just, seems a direct charge upon him of impiety; and history sufficiently justifies that charge.

As free-thinking is an expression that has caused some discourse in the world, and may admit of different senses, perhaps you will not think it improper that some mention should be made of it. It may signify a roving exercise of the mind, running over all or any of the subjects of science idly and superficially, without binding itself to any settled judgment of the truth of things, as if there were no such thing as a rule of truth in nature. So liberty in government may be defined a liberty to act as will and humour guides, without regard to justice or law; as if there was no such thing as justice to limit man in his conduct. *Julius Cæsar* said, * that his words were to be taken for laws; that *commonwealth and public good was nothing; a mere name, without body or form.* † Virtue, say the free-thinkers of this sort, is a mere word, as, *a sacred grove is only a sanctified expression for a parcel of sticks.* But true political liberty consists in a strict severe obedience to just and equal laws, and orders, established for the public good; and it is called liberty, as it excludes dependence upon will and pleasure, which is tyranny. So just freedom of thought is true science, which consists in the necessary determination of the understanding to the truth of things, when every means of discovering it has had its due weight in order to make the evidence

* Suetonius Jul. Cæs.

† Horace, Epist. 6. Lib. i.

complete, and the decision just. But then, if any one thing affect the mind above its due proportion, the impression it makes, prevents the mind's submission to truth. And if the impression be very great, it causes madness, and establishes a tyranny in the mind; to which the overgrown power of a prince, or grandees in the state, may be compared as distraction and madness in government. Admiration of riches, of grandeur, of beauty of person, and other strong impressions, tyrannize often in mens minds, obstruct right judgments in religion and morals, and cause wrong practice; and love, grief, or fear, when excessive, overturns the sound constitution of a mind; and soundness and consistence of mind may be called freedom, as it excludes this tyranny of passion. As passion is a domestic oppression of liberty of mind, so are there a sort of foreign oppressors of it. These are the *Hobbits* and the favourers of ecclesiastical tyranny. No real religion in the world, say these men; no rule of right, or public good in the state; no virtue in man; but all depends upon tales authorized, and laws imposed by power and will. Now true freedom of thought here is to assert a providence, wisdom, and intelligence in the world; a rule and order in societies of men upon the bottom of public good; virtue and worth in man; and a rule of truth in all things, which to discover is man's wisdom; and to follow it is his virtue, freedom, and happiness. But the abettors of free-thinking now a-days, seem to be men, who, having got a few steps above the biggotry of the poor multitude, are transported out of themselves, * exult at their own imagined elevation, look down upon the rest of men as wandering in the paths of error; and this they do with plea-

* Lucretius, Lib. ii. V. 7.

sure. * They address themselves with *Lucretius* to their goddess *Venus*, and her attendant pleasures, and cultivate them in a vicious way; they ridicule what the public holds sacred; they represent religion as a spectre oppressing the minds of men; and exclude deity from the world. These answer to the ancient *Epicureans*, though none of them perhaps are equal to their patron *Epicurus*, who seemed to have more worth and goodness than was consistent with his own maxims†. There was, in ancient times, another sort of men, who, between the assertors of providence and virtue on one side, and the abettors of atheism and pleasure on the other, opposed both of them in their opinions and in the proofs they brought to establish them. These were the sceptics; and they maintained a total suspense of opinion and absence of passion‡. They were men of great ability in reasoning, and seemed to have laboured so much in the culture of that art, that they lost sight of truth and certainty. There may have been, perhaps, in our times, certain free-thinkers, affected mimicks of these men; but they seem to be far short of them in their intense application of mind. These modern sceptics would scarce let their hair and nails grow, like *Carneades*§, nor be in danger of being over-run by chariots, torn by dogs, or of falling down precipices, without minding or avoiding it, like *Pyrrho*. They are rather loose rovers through various opinions, sincere in none; using any opinion to defeat a contrary one; borrowing arguments from the atheist to oppose the religionist, and borrowing from the religionist to defeat the atheist and *Epicurean*; adversaries at times to all. This is so far

* *Lucretius*, Lib. i. V. 1. &c. V. 63. 79.

† *Cicero Jus. Quest.* Lib. ii.

‡ *Diog. Laert.* *Pyrrho*.

§ *Diog. Laert.*

from strict application of mind, that it is an idle dissolute prostitution of it, and may be compared to the behaviour of such men in the state who favour neither one scheme nor another, nor close with any interest sincerely, nor are sincerely neuter, but, as it serves their turn, are occasionally zealous for every party, which is prostitution in politics. This turn of mind has the same effect in private life; it acts the frolicsome, the burlesque, and the gay; the sober, the serious, the austere; the religious and the profane; as humour guides, or as there is a turn to serve: It maintains no one genuine personage, but has a different mask for every different scene, and it regards neither justice nor truth. This is prostitution of another kind; and prostitution of person compleats the corrupt character. * *Alcibiades* and *Julius Cæsar* had their share of this character. And to instance in one of a degree inferior to these, *Menon* was of this sort; one who was an officer that attended the younger *Cyrus* in his expedition against his brother *Artaxerxes*, and who is thus characterised by *Xenophon*. “He was a passionate lover of money; “he loved power and command that he might get “by it; and he loved honours in order still to make “the more advantage. He affected the friendship “of men in power, to escape the punishment of his “injustice. He thought, that the shortest way to “gain his ends was by perjury, falsehood, and deceit. Simplicity and truth he thought the same “with folly. He apparently loved no one. Whoever he professed himself a friend to, he was evidently plotting mischief against. He contemned “no enemy, but conversed always in such a manner “with his friends as if he ridiculed and laughed at “them. He formed no designs to seize the posses-

* Plutarch. Suetonius.

“ fions of his enemies, for he thought it difficult to
 “ prey upon such as were upon their guard ; but he
 “ thought himself the only person who knew that it
 “ was the easiest thing in the world to seize the un-
 “ guarded possessions of his friends. Those that he
 “ observed to be unjust and regardless of oaths, he
 “ feared as men well prepared and armed ; men of
 “ piety and truth, as weak and unmanly, he endea-
 “ voured to make his uses of. The pleasure that
 “ another takes in religion, truth, and justice, he took
 “ in being able to deceive, in falsehood, and ridi-
 “ culing his friends. The man who was not a knave
 “ he thought ignorant and silly. Those with whom
 “ he affected to be a chief favourite, he thought he
 “ was to gain by calumniating their chief friends.
 “ His contrivance to render his soldiers obedient to
 “ him, was to share with them in their crimes. He
 “ required respect and service, by shewing that it
 “ was both in his power and in his will to do inju-
 “ ries. When any one had renounced his friend-
 “ ship, he declared that it was an act of bounty in
 “ him, that while he used him as a friend he did
 “ not ruin him. He lived in an infamous commerce
 “ with one *Thurypas*, who was older than himself,
 “ and was himself a prostitute in his youth to the
 “ barbarian *Ariceus*.”

THIS Treatise of the Institution of *Cyrus* is un-
 doubtedly fabulous : The *Iliad* and *Odyssæid* of *Homer*
 are fables likewise, though of another kind. And
 there is certainly no more pretence to truth or fact
 in this of *Xenophon*, than those of *Homer* ; yet the
 whole of it is so true to nature, that it may be said
 to be almost as natural as if it were really fact, and,
 of consequence, as instructive ; and perhaps more in-
 structive than what is called real history, there be-
 ing very little of that which is not abundantly more
 false to fact, than these ancient fables are to nature.

There

There is indeed a plainness and simplicity in this piece of *Xenophon's* that may seem childish and contemptible to some judgments; but what our Saviour said to his disciples when he placed a child in the midst of them, **Unless you become as little children, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven*; and what he says in another place, †*When the eye is single, the whole body is full of light*, may be applied to the disposition of the mind, with respect to all other good knowledge, as well as with respect to religion. Your disposition of mind is thus chaste and single, and you therefore will perhaps not be displeased with this.

THERE have been some who have imagined, that the establishments made by *Xenophon's Cyrus* are a model of perfect government: Others, however, will reckon, that *Cyrus* is no more proposed as a model to be followed, than *Achilles* is in the *Iliad* of *Homer*. The wrathful great man, and the effects of his wrath, are plainly seen in the *Iliad*; and the ambitious great man, and the effects of his ambition, are as plainly to be seen in the *Cyreid*. The arts that *Cyrus* used with private men, and with whole nations, in order to gain them to his purpose, were certainly right; but this does not prove that that purpose of his was honest. In like manner, all his regulations, with respect to the establishment of his scheme of tyranny, were as certainly rightly contrived to serve that end; but yet this is no proof, that such tyranny is not a most unjust, unequal, and barbarous establishment. And when the foundation and rise of the empire of *Cyrus* is directly ascribed to a free government; when his own education under such a government appears to be the foundation of all the virtue that he has; and when the effects of this empire erected, are declared to be a general defection from all virtue in the

* Matt. xviii. 3. xix. 14.

† Matt. vi. 22.

people, and the misery of the prince's own family; then let any one judge, whether the moral of this fable of *Xenophon's* does decide in favour of tyranny?

I know the affectionate concern you have for the liberty of your country, which you value, that the integrity and simplicity of human minds may be protected, and not overborne by tyrannical impositions, or debauched by imposture; that they may be kept as the chaste spouse of divine truth; and that innocence and virtue may not be violated by the ungoverned passions of the mighty. I know the joy you ever expressed for your country's successes in a just war; you will therefore allow this to be my excuse, for thinking these subjects not improper for your entertainment. I cannot but believe, that even the statesman, the soldier, the divine, and the learned in the law of our present age, would readily excuse the addressing these matters to a lady, when they should consider that this is but the translation (and indeed pretends to be no very good one) of a book, where these subjects are treated in a childish romantic way, and not so suitable to their understandings. They will be little concerned that such an author should recommend the sciences, and arts of war and government, of justice and religion, to the study of the gentleman; for by means of ignorance in these things, the gentleman is rendered incapable of judging, whether the mercenary in these professions do their duty for their money; the noblest arts are thus left to the mercenary alone, and they become the guides and governors of the world.



CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

C R R U S

BY XENOPHON.

BOOK I.

I HAVE heretofore considered how many popular governments have been dissolved by men who chose to live under any other sort of government rather than the popular; and how many monarchies, and how many oligarchies have been destroyed by the people; and how many of those who have attempted tyrannies, have, some of them, been instantly and entirely destroyed; and others, if they have continued reigning but for any time, have been admired as able, wise, and happy men. And I thought I observed many masters, in their own private houses, some possessing more servants, some but very few, who yet were not able to preserve those few entirely obedient to their commands. I considered withal

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that

that keepers of oxen, and keepers of horses, are as it were the magistrates and rulers of those oxen and horses; and in general all those called pastors or herdsmen may be properly accounted the magistrates of the animals they rule. I saw, I thought, all these several herds more willing to obey their pastors, than men their magistrates. For these herds go the way that their keepers direct them; they feed on those lands upon which their keepers throw them; they abstain from those from which their keepers drive them; They suffer their keepers to make what use they please of the fruits and profits that arise from them: Besides I never did perceive a herd conspiring against its keepers, either so as not to obey them, or so as not to allow them the use of the fruits arising from them. Herds are rather more refractory towards any others than they are towards their rulers and those who make profit of them; but men conspire against none sooner, than again those, whom they perceive undertaking the government of them. When these things were in my mind, I came to this judgment upon them; That to man, it was easier to rule every other sort of creature than to rule man. But when I considered that there was the *Perſian Cyrus*, who had rendered many men, many cities and many nations, obedient to himself; upon this I was necessitated to change my opinion, and to think that the government of men was not amongst the things that were impossible, nor amongst the things that are difficult, if one undertook it with understanding and skill. I knew there

there were those that willingly obeyed *Cyrus*, who were many days journey distant from him; those who were months; those who had never seen him; and those who knew very well that they never should see him; yet would they submit to his government. For he so far excelled all other kings, both those that received their dominion by succession, as well as those that acquired it themselves, that the *Scythian* (for example) though his people be very numerous, has not been able to obtain the dominion of any other nation; but rests satisfied if he hold but the rule of his *own*; the *Thracian* the same; the *Illyrian* the same; and other nations (as I have heard) the same. For the nations of *Europe* are said to be yet sovereign and independent of each other. But *Cyrus* finding in like manner the nations of *Asia* sovereign and independent and setting forward with a little army of *Persians*, obtained the dominion of the *Medes* by their own choice and voluntary submission; of the *Hircanians* the same. He conquered the *Syrians*, *Assyrians*, *Arabs*, *Cappadocians*, both *Phrygias*, the *Lydians*, *Carians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Babylonians*. He ruled the *Bactrians*, *Indians*, and *Cilicians*; in like manner the *Sacians*, *Paphlagonians*, and *Megadinians*, and many other nations, whose names one cannot enumerate: He ruled the *Greeks* that were settled in *Asia*; and descending to the sea the *Cyprians* and *Ægyptians*. These nations he ruled, though their languages differed from his own and from each other; and yet was he able to extend the fear of himself over so great a part of the

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world,

world, as to astonish all, and that no one attempted any thing against him. He was able to inspire all with so great a desire of pleasing him, that they even desired to be governed by his opinion and will. He connected together so many nations, as would be a labour to enumerate, to whatsoever point one undertook to direct one's course, whether it were east, west, north, or south, setting out from his palace and seat of empire. With respect therefore to this man, as worthy of admiration, I have enquired by what birth, with what natural disposition, and under what discipline and education bred, he so much excelled in the art of governing men. And whatever I have learnt, or think I know concerning him, I shall endeavour to relate.

CYRUS is said to be descended from *Cambyfes* king of the *Persians* as his father. *Cambyfes* was of the race of the *Perseidæ*, who were so called from *Perseus*. It is agreed that he was born of a mother called *Mandane*; and *Mandane* was the daughter of *Astyages* king of the *Medes*. *Cyrus* is said to have had by nature a most beautiful person, and a mind of the greatest benignity and love to mankind, most desirous of knowledge, and most ambitious of glory; so as to bear any pain, and undergo any danger for the sake of praise: And he is yet celebrated as such among the *barbarians*. Such is he recorded to have been with respect to his mind and person; and he was educated under the institutions and laws of the *Persians*.

THESE laws seem to begin with a provident care of the common good; not where those of most other govern-

govern-

governments begin; for most other governments, giving to all a liberty of educating their children as they please, and to the advanced in age a liberty of living as they please, do then enjoin their people not to steal, nor to plunder, not to enter a house by violence, not to strike unjustly, not to be adulterous, not to disobey the magistrates, and other things in like manner; and if any transgress, they impose punishments upon them. But the *Persian* laws taking things higher, are careful from the beginning to provide that their citizens shall not be such as to be capable of meddling with any action that is base and vile. And that care, they take in this manner. They have a public place called from the name of liberty, where the king's palace and the other courts and houses of magistrates are built: All things that are bought and sold and the dealers in them, their noise and low dissingenuous manners, are banished hence to another place; that the rout of these may not mix and interfere with the decent order of those who are under the ingenuous discipline. This place, near the public courts, is divided into four parts; one is allotted to the boys, one the youth, one to the full-grown men, and one to those who exceed the years of military service. Each of these orders according to the law, attend in their several parts; the boys and full-grown men as soon as it is day; the elders when they think convenient, except upon appointed days when they are obliged to be present; the youth take up their rest round the courts in their light arms; all but such as

are married; these are not required to do it, unless before-hand ordered to attend; nor is it decent for them to be absent often. Over each of the orders there are twelve rulers; for the *Persians* are divided into twelve tribes. Those over the boys are chosen from among the elders; and such as are thought to make them the best boys: Those over the youth are chosen from amongst the full-grown men, and such as are thought to make the best youth: And over the full-grown men, such as are thought to render them the most ready to perform their appointed parts, and to execute the orders they receive from the chief magistrate. There are likewise chosen, presidents over the elders, who take care that these also perform their duty. And that it may appear what means they use to make their citizens prove the best, I shall now relate what part is appointed for each degree.

The boys who frequent the public places of instruction, pass their time in learning justice, and tell you that they go for that purpose, as those with us who go to learn letters tell you that they go for that purpose. Their rulers for the most part of the day continue dispersing justice amongst them. For as amongst the men, so the boys have against each other their accusations for theft, robbery, violence, deceit and calumny, and other such things as naturally occur; and when they find any acting unjustly, in any of these ways, they punish them; they punish likewise such as they find guilty of false accusation; they appeal to justice also in the case of a crime for which
men

men hate one another excessively, but never bring to the bar of justice, that is, ingratitude; and whomsoever they find able to return a benefit, and refusing to do it, they punish severely. For they are of opinion that the ungrateful, are careless and neglectful both of the gods, of their parents, of their country, and of their friends; and ingratitude seems to be certainly attended by impudence; and this seems to be the principal conductor of mankind into all things that are vile. They instill into the boys a modest and discreet temper of mind; and it contributes much towards establishing this temper in them, that they see every day their elders behaving themselves in that discreet and modest manner. They teach them obedience to their rulers, and it contributes much to their instruction in this, that they see their elders zealously obedient to their rulers. They teach them temperance with respect to eating and drinking; and it contributes much to this their temperance to see that their elders do not quit their stations for the service of their bellies, before the magistrates dismiss them, and that the boys do not eat with their mothers, but with their teachers, and when the magistrates give the signal. They bring from home with them bread for their food, and a sort of herb much in use with them, to eat with it. And they bring a cup to drink in, that if any are thirsty, they may take from the river. They learn besides to shoot with the bow, and to throw the javelin. These things the boys practise till they are sixteen or seventeen years of age; they then

enter the order of youth. The youth pass their time thus : For ten years after they pass from the order of boys, they take their rests around the courts, as is said before, both for the security and guard of the city, and to preserve in them a modesty and governableness of temper ; for this age seems the most to need care. In the day time they chiefly give themselves up to be made use of by their magistrates in case they want them for any public service ; and when it is necessary they all attend about the courts. But when the king goes out to hunt, he takes half the guard off with him ; and this he does several times every month. Those that go must have their bow and quiver, a smaller sort of sword in its proper scabbard, a shield and two javelins ; one to throw, and the other, if necessary, to use at hand. They are careful to keep up these public huntings ; and the king as in war, is in this their leader ; hunts himself, and takes care that others do so ; because it seems to be the truest method of practising all such things as relate to war. It accustoms them to rise early in the morning, and to bear heat and cold ; it exercises them in long marches, and in running ; it necessitates them to use their bow against the beast they hunt, and to throw the javelin if he fall in their way ; their courage must of necessity be often sharpened in the hunt, when any of the strong and vigorous beasts oppose themselves ; they must come to blows with the beast, if he comes up with them, and must be upon their guard as he comes upon them. So that
it

it is no easy matter to find what one thing there is that is practised in war, and is not so in their hunting. They attend this hunting, being provided with a dinner, larger indeed (as is but fit) than that of the boys; but in all other respects the same, and during the hunt sometimes perhaps they shall not eat it, either waiting for the beast if it be necessary, or choosng to spend more time at the work; so they make their supper of that dinner; hunt again the next day, till the time of supper; and reckon these two days as but one, because they have eat the food but of one day. This they do to accustom themselves, that in case it may be necessary for them in war, they may be able to do it. They of this degree have what they catch for meat with their bread. If they catch nothing, then they have their usual herb. And if any one think that they eat without pleasure, when they have this herb only for food with their bread, and that they drink without pleasure when they drink water, let him recollect how pleasant it is to one who is hungry to eat plain cake or bread; and how pleasant to one who is thirsty to drink water. The tribes that remain at home pass their time in practising the things they learned while they were boys, in shooting with the bow, and throwing the javelin. These they continue exercising in emulation one against another; and there are public games in these kinds, and prizes set; and in which soever of the tribes there are the most found who exceed in skill, in courage,, and in obedience, the citizens applaud and honour, not only the present ruler

ruler of them, but also the person who had the instruction of them while boys. The magistrates likewise make use of the remaining youth, if they want them, to keep guard upon any occasion, or to search for criminal persons, to pursue robbers, or for any other business that requires strength and agility. These things the youth practise; and when they have compleated ten years, they enter into the order of full-grown men. These, from the time they leave the order of youth, pass five and twenty years in this manner. First, as the youth, they give themselves up to be made use of by the magistrates upon any occasion that may occur for the service of the public, and that requires the service of such as have discretion, and are yet in vigour. If some military expedition be necessary to be undertaken, they who are under this degree of discipline do not engage in it, with bow and javelins, but with what they call arms for close fight, a corselet about the breast, a shield in the left hand, such as the *Persians* are painted with, and in the right a larger sort of sword. All the magistrates are chosen from amongst these, except the teachers of the boys, and when they have compleated five and twenty years in this order, they are then something upwards of fifty years of age, and pass into the order of such as are elders, and are so called. These elders are not obliged to attend any military service abroad, but remaining at home, have the distribution of public and private justice, have judgment of life and death, and the choice of all magistrates; and if any of the youth

youth or full grown men, fail in any thing enjoined by the laws, the philarchs or magistrates of the tribes, or any one that will, make discovery of it, the elders hear the cause and give judgment upon it; and the person so judged and condemned, remains infamous for the rest of his life.

THAT the whole *Persian* form of government may the more plainly appear, I return a little back; for by means of what has been already said, it may now be laid open in a very few words. The *Persians* are said to be in number about twelve myriads, or a hundred and twenty thousand; of these none are by law excluded from honours and magistracies, but all are at liberty to send their boys to the public schools of justice. They who are able to maintain their children idle, and without labour, send them to these schools. They who are not able do not send them. They who are thus educated under the public teachers, are at liberty to pass through the order of youth: They who are not so educated have not that liberty: They who pass thorough the youth, fully discharging all things enjoined by the law, are allowed to be incorporated amongst the full-grown men, and to partake of all honours and magistracies: But they who do not compleat their course through the order of boys, and through that of the youth, do not pass into the order of the full-grown men. They who make their progress through the order of the full-grown men unexceptionably, become then of the elders: So the order of elders stands composed of
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men who have made their way through all things good and excellent. And this is the form of government by the use of which, they think they become the best men. There yet remain things that bear testimony to the spare diet, used among the *Persians*, and to their carrying it off by exercise; For it is even yet shameful among them to be seen either to spit or to blow the nose, or to appear full of wind: It is shameful for any one to be seen going aside either to make water, or any such matter; and these things could not possibly be, unless they used a very temperate diet, and spent the moisture by exercise, making it pass some other way.

THESE things I had to say concerning the *Persians* in general. I will now relate the actions of *Cyrus*, upon whose account this discourse was undertaken, beginning from his being a boy. *Cyrus* till twelve years of age or little more, was educated under this discipline, and appeared to excel all his equals, both in his quick learning of what was fit, and in his performing every thing in a handsome and in a manly way. At that time *Astyages* sent for his daughter and her son; for he was desirous to see him, having heard that he was an excellent and lovely child. *Mandane* therefore came to her father, and brought her son with her. As soon as they arrived, and *Cyrus* knew *Astyages* to be his mother's father, he instantly, as being a boy of a great good nature, embraced him just as if he had been bred under him, and had long had an affection for him: And observing him
set

set out and adorned, with his eyes and complexion painted, and with false hair, things that are allowed amongst the *Medes*, (for the purple coat, the rich habit called candys, collars about the neck, and bracelets about the hands, all belong to the *Medes*; but amongst the inhabitants of *Persia*, even at this day, their habits are much coarser, and their diet much plainer,) observing this dress of his grandfather, and looking at him, said, “O mother, how
“handsome is my grandfather?” And his mother then asking him which he thought the handsomer either his father or his grandfather; *Cyrus* answered, “Of the *Persians*, mother, my father is much the
“handsomest; and of all the *Medes* that I have seen
“either upon the road or within the city, this grand-
“father of mine is much the handsomest.” *Astyages* then embracing *Cyrus*, in return, put him on a fine robe; honoured him and set him out with collars and bracelets; and whenever he went abroad carried him with him, mounted upon a horse with a bridle of gold, and such as he used himself to appear abroad upon. *Cyrus* being a boy much in love with what was fine and honourable, was pleased with the robe; and extremely delighted with learning to ride; for among the *Persians*, it being difficult to breed horses, and even difficult to ride, the country being mountainous, it is a rare thing to see a horse. But *Astyages* being at table with his daughter, and with *Cyrus*, and being desirous to treat the boy with all possible delight and pleasure, that he might the less
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miss what he enjoyed at home, set before him several dishes with sauces and meats of all kinds; upon which *Cyrus* is reported to have said, “What a deal of
“business and trouble, grandfather, have you at your
“meals, if you must reach out your hands to all these
“several dishes, and taste of all these kind of meats?”
“What, then, said *Astyages*, do not you think this
“entertainment much finer than what you have in
“*Persia*?” *Cyrus* to this is said to reply, “No,
“grandfather; with us we have a much plainer and
“readier way to get satisfied than you have; for
“plain bread and meat brings us to our end, but you
“in order to the same end, have a deal of business
“upon your hands, and wandering up and down
“through many mazes, you at last scarce arrive where
“we have got long before you.” “But child,
“said *Astyages*, it is not with pain that we wander
“through these mazes; taste, said he, and you will
“find that these things are pleasant.” “Well but
“grandfather, said *Cyrus*, I see that you yourself have
“an aversion to these sauces and things.” “What
“ground, replied *Astyages*, have you to say so?” Be-
“cause, said he, when you touch your bread, I see
“you do not wipe your hands upon any thing, but
“when you meddle with any of these, you presently
“clean your hands upon your napkin, as if you were
“very uneasy to have them daubed with them.” To
this *Astyages* is said to have answered, “Well, child,
“if this be your opinion, eat heartily of plain meats,
“that you may return young and healthy home;”

and

and at the same time he is said to have presented to him various meats, both of the tame and wild kinds; *Cyrus*, when he saw this variety of meats, is reported to have said, “And do you give me all these meats, grandfather, to do with them as I think fit?” “Yes truly I do,” said *Astyages*; then *Cyrus* taking of the several meats, is said to have distributed around to the servants about his grandfather, saying to one, “This for you, because you take pains to teach me to ride; This for you, because you gave me a javelin; for I have it at this time; This for you, because you serve my grandfather well; This for you, because you honour my mother;” and that thus he did till he had distributed away all he received. *Astyages* is then reported to have said, “And do you give nothing to this *Sacian*, my cup-bearer, that I favour above all?” This *Sacian* was a very beautiful person, and had the honour to introduce to *Astyages*, any that had business with him, and was to hinder those that he did not think it seasonable to introduce. *Cyrus* to this is said to have answered, in a pert manner, as a boy not yet struck with the sense of shame, “For what reason is it, grandfather, that you favour this *Sacian* so much?” *Astyages* replied, in a jesting way, “Do not you see, said he, how handsomely and neatly he pours me my wine?” For these cup-bearers to kings perform their business very cleverly, they pour out their wine very neatly, and give the cup, bearing it along with three fingers, and present it in such a manner as it may best be received by

by the person who is to drink. “Grandfather, said
“Cyrus, bid the *Sacian* give me the cup, that, pouring
“you your wine to drink, I may gain your favour if
“I can.” *Astyages* bids the *Sacian* give him the cup;
and *Cyrus* taking it, is said to have washed the cup as
he had observed the *Sacian* to do; and settling his
countenance in a serious and decent manner, brought
and presented the cup to his grandfather in such a
manner as afforded much laughter to his mother and
to *Astyages*. Then *Cyrus*, laughing out, leapt up to
his grandfather, and, kissing him, cried out, “O *Sa-*
“*cian*, you are undone, I will turn you out of your
“office; I will do the business better than you, and
“not drink the wine myself.” For these cup-bearers
when they have given the cup, dip with a dish and
take a little out, which pouring into their left hand
they swallow; and this they do that in case they mix
poison in the cup it may be of no advantage to them-
selves. Upon this *Astyages*, in a jesting way, said,
“And why, *Cyrus*, since you have imitated the *Sacian*
“in every thing else, did not you swallow some of the
“wine?” Because truly, said he, I was afraid there had
“been poison mixed in the cup; for when you feasted
“you friends upon your birth-day, I plainly found
“that he had poured you all poison:” “And how,
“child, said he, did you know this? Truly, said he,
“because I saw you all disordered in body and mind;
“for first what you do not allow us boys to do, that
“you did yourselves; for you all bawled together, and
“could learn nothing of each other: Then you fell
“to

“ to singing very ridiculously ; and without attending
“ to the singer, you swore he sung admirably ; then
“ every one telling stories of his own strength, you
“ rose up and fell to dancing ; but without all rule
“ or measure, for you could not so much as keep
“ yourselves upright. Then you all entirely forgot
“ yourselves ; you, that you were king, and they, that
“ you were their governor. And then for the first
“ time I discovered that you were celebrating a festi-
“ val, where all were allowed to talk with equal
“ liberty ; for you never ceased talking.” *Astyages*
then said, “ Does your father, child, never drink
“ till he gets drunk ?” “ No, truly” said he. “ What
“ does he then ?” “ Why he quenches his thirst and
“ gets no farther harm, for, as I take it, grandfather,
“ says he, it is no *Sacian* that officiates as cup-bearer
“ about him.” His mother then said, “ But why,
“ child, do you make war thus upon the *Sacian* ?”
Cyrus to this is said to reply, “ Why truly because
“ I hate him ; for very often when I am desirous to
“ run to my grandfather, this nasty fellow hinders
“ me. Pray grandfather, said he, let me but have the
“ government of him but for three days.” “ How
“ would you govern him, said *Astyages* ?” *Cyrus* re-
plied, “ Why, standing as he does just at the en-
“ trance, when he had a mind to go in to dinner, then
“ would I tell him that he could not possibly have
“ his dinner yet, because *He was busy with certain*
“ *people* ; then when he came to supper, I would tell
“ him, that *He was bathing* ; and if he was very press-
“ ing

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“ing for his victuals, I would tell him that *He was*
“*with the women*; and so on, till I had tormented
“him, as he torments me, when he keeps me from
“you.” Such like subjects of mirth did he afford
them at meals: At other times of the day, if he
perceived his grandfather or his mother’s brother
in want of any thing, it was a difficult matter for
any one to be beforehand with him in doing it.
For *Cyrus* was extremely delighted to gratify them
in any thing that lay in his power. But when
Mandane was preparing to return home to her hus-
band, *Astyages* desired her to leave *Cyrus* with him.
She made answer, “That she was willing to gratify
“her father in every thing; but to leave the child
“against his will she thought hard.” Upon this
occasion *Astyages* says to *Cyrus*, “Child, if you will
“stay with me, in the first place the *Sacian* shall
“not have the command of your access to me; but
“whenever you would come it shall be in your own
“power, and the oftner you will come, said he, the
“more I shall think myself obliged to you. Then
“you shall have the use of all my horses, and of as
“many more as you please; and when you go away,
“you shall take as many of them as you please
“with you: Then at meals you shall take what way
“you please to get satisfied in what you think a tempe-
“rate way: Then all the several creatures that are
“now in the park, I give you; and will besides collect
“more of all kinds, that you may pursue them when
“you have learnt to ride, and with your bow and javelin
“lay

“ lay them prostrate on the ground, as grown men do.
“ Boys I will furnish you with, for play-fellows ; and
“ whatever else you would have, do but tell me, and
“ you shall not go without.” When *Astyages* had said
this, *Cyrus*’s mother asked him whether he would go
or stay ? He did not at all hesitate, but presently said,
that he would stay. And being asked by his mother
the reason why, it is said that he made answer, “ Be-
“ cause, mother, that at home, both at the bow and
“ javelin, I am superior to all of equal age with me,
“ and am so reckoned ; but here, I well know that
“ in horsemanship I am their inferior ; and be it
“ known to you, mother, this grieves me very much.
“ But if you leave me here, and I learn to be a horse-
“ man, then I reckon that when I am in *Persia*, I
“ shall easily master them there who are so good at all
“ exercises on foot ; and when I come amongst the
“ *Medes*, I shall endeavour to be an assistant and a
“ support to my grandfather, making myself the
“ most skilful amongst those who excel in horse-
“ manship.” His mother is then reported to have
said, “ But how, child, will you be instructed here in
“ the knowledge of justice, when your teachers are
“ there ? ” “ O mother, said *Cyrus*, that I understand
“ exactly already.” How so ? ” said *Mandane*. “ Be-
“ cause my teacher, said he, appointed me judge over
“ others, as being very exact in the knowledge of
“ justice myself. But yet, said he, I had some stripes
“ given me, as not determining right in one judgment
“ that I gave ; the case was this : A bigger boy, who

“ had a little coat, stripping a less boy who had a
“ larger, puts upon the little boy the coat that was his
“ own, and puts on himself the coat that was the lit-
“ tle boy’s. I therefore passing judgment upon them,
“ decreed, that it was best that each should keep
“ the coat that best fitted him. Upon this my teacher
“ thrashed me, and told me, that when I should be
“ constituted judge of what fitted best I should deter-
“ mine in this manner: But when I was to judge
“ whose the coat was, then, said he, it must be enquired
“ what right possession is; whether he that took a
“ thing by force, should have it, or whether he who
“ made it, or purchased it, should possess it; and then
“ he told me, that what was according to law was just;
“ and that what was contrary to law was violent: He
“ bid me take notice therefore, that a judge ought to
“ give his opinion with the law. So mother, said he, I
“ understand what is just in all cases very exactly; or if
“ any thing be wanting to me, my grandfather here will
“ teach it me.” “ But child, says she, the same things
“ are not accounted just with your grandfather here
“ and yonder in *Persia*. For amongst the *Medes* your
“ grandfather has made himself lord and master of all;
“ but amongst the *Persians*, it is accounted just that
“ all should be equally dealt by; and your father is
“ the first to execute the orders imposed upon the whole
“ state, and receives those orders himself; his own hu-
“ mour is not his rule and measure, but it is the law
“ that is so. How can you avoid being beat to death at
“ home, when you come from your grandfather instruct-
“ ed

“ed not in kingly arts, but in the arts and manners of
“tyranny ; one of which is, to think that power and as-
“cendant over all is your due?” “O mother, said
“*Cyrus*, your father is much better able to teach one to
“submit than to take the ascendant. Do not you see,
“said he, that he has taught all the *Medes* to submit to
“him ? So be well assured that your father will not
“dismiss me, nor any one from about him, instructed
“how to gain power and ascendant over others.”

MANY such kind of discourses did *Cyrus* hold ; at last his mother went away ; he stayed, and was there brought up. He immediately joined himself to those that were his equals in age, so as to be upon a very familiar and friendly foot with them. And he presently gained their fathers, both by visiting them, and by giving evidence of his affection to their sons. So that if they had any business with the king, they bid their boys ask *Cyrus* to do it ; and *Cyrus*, such was his benignity and love of esteem and praise, did his utmost to accomplish it for them : And *Astyages* had it not in his power to refuse gratifying *Cyrus* in whatever he asked of him. For *Cyrus*, when his grandfather fell ill, never quitted him ; never ceased from tears ; and made it evident to all, that he was in the utmost fear of his dying : And in the night, if *Astyages* wanted any thing, *Cyrus* was the first to perceive it, and started up the nimblest of any to serve him, in any thing that he thought pleasing to him. So that he entirely gained *Astyages*. *Cyrus* was perhaps a little over-talkative : But this he had partly from his education ; his teacher obliging him

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him to give a reason for every thing that he did ; and to hearken to it from others, when he was to give his opinion in judgment ; and besides, being very eager after knowlege, he was always asking those about him abundance of questions, how such and such things were ; and upon whatever subject he was questioned by others, being of a very quick and ready apprehension, he instantly made his answers. So that from all these things he contracted an over-talkativeness. But as in the persons of very young people, who have shot up suddenly so as to be very tall, there yet appears something childish, that betrays their youth ; so in *Cyrus*, it was not an impudence and boldness that appeared through that talkativeness, but a simplicity and good nature. So that one was desirous rather to hear yet more from him, than to be with him while he held his tongue.

BUT as years added to his growth, and brought him on towards the time of his becoming a youth, he then used fewer words and a softer voice : He became full of shame, so as to blush when he came into the company of men of years. And that playful pertness, in bluntly accosting every one, did not continue with him as before. So he became more soft and gentle, but in his conversation extremely agreeable. For in all the exercises, that he and his equals used in emulation to each other, he did not challenge his companions to those in which he knew himself superior ; but such as he well knew himself to be

be inferior in, those he set on foot; declaring that he would do them better than they. Accordingly he would begin vaulting the horse; throwing the javelin, or shooting with the bow on horseback, while he was yet scarce well able to sit on a horse, and when he was outdone he was the first to laugh at himself. And as, upon the account of being baffled, he did not fly off, and meddle no more with the things he was so baffled in, but continued repeating his endeavours to do better, he presently became equal to his companions in horsemanship, and by his love of the work quickly left them behind. He then presently applied himself to the taking of the beasts in the park, pursuing, throwing at them, and killing them; so that *Astyages* could no longer supply him with them. And *Cyrus*, perceiving that he could not furnish him with these creatures, though very desirous to do it, often said to him, “What need you take so much pains, grandfather, to find me out these creatures? If you will but send me out a hunting with my uncle, I shall reckon that all the beasts I see are creatures that you maintain for me.” But though he was very desirous to go a hunting, yet he could not now be pressing and importunate as when he was a boy; he became very backward in going to his grandfather, and what he blamed in the *Sacian* for not admitting him to his grandfather, he became in this a *Sacian* to himself; for he never went in, unless he knew beforehand that it was seasonable, and begged the *Sacian* by all means to signify to him when it was seasonable and when not; so that the

Sacian now loved him extremely, as all the rest did.

WHEN *Astyages*, therefore, knew that he was extremely desirous to hunt abroad and at large, he sent him out with his uncle, and sent some elderly men on horseback with him, as guards upon him, to take care of him in rough and rocky parts of the country, and in case any beasts of the savage kind appeared. *Cyrus* therefore was very earnest in enquiring of those that attended him, what beasts he was not to approach, and which those were that he might confidently pursue. They told him, that bears had destroyed many that had ventured to approach them; and that lions, wild boars, and leopards had done the same; but that stags, wild-goats, wild-sheep, and wild-asses were harmless things. They told him likewise, that rough and rocky places were not less to be taken care of than the beasts; for that many, both men and horses, had fallen headlong down precipices. *Cyrus* took all these instructions very eagerly; but as soon as he saw a stag roused, forgetting all that he had heard, he pursued, and looked at nothing but at that which he run; and his horse taking a leap with him, fell upon his knees, and wanted but little of throwing him quite over his neck. However *Cyrus*, though with difficulty, kept upon his back, and the horse recovered. When they got into the plain he struck the stag with his javelin, and brought him to the ground; a large noble creature it was, and he was most highly delighted. But his guardians coming up with him, chid and reproved

reproved him; told him what danger he had run into, and said they would tell it to his grandfather. *Cyrus* being alighted from his horse, stood and heard this with much uneasiness: but hearing a halloo, he mounted his horse at a leap, as in a sort of enthusiasm, and as soon as he saw a boar rushing forward over-against him, he pushed on upon him; and aiming right with his javelin, struck the boar in the forehead. And here his uncle, seeing his boldness, reproved him; he, while his uncle was reproofing him, begged that he would allow him to carry off the beasts that he had taken, and to give them to his grandfather; to this they say, his uncle replied, “But if he discover that
“it is you that have pursued and taken them, he will
“not only reprove you, but me for allowing you to do
“it.” “Let him beat me, says he, if he will, when
“I have given them to him; and do you, if you will,
“uncle, says he, correct me as you please, do but gratify me in this.” *Cyaxares* at last said, “Well, do
“as you please; for it is you that seem now to be
“our king.”

So *Cyrus* carrying off the beasts, presented them to his grandfather, and told him that he himself had taken them for him. The javelins he did not shew him; but laid them down all bloody, where he thought that he certainly would see them. *Astyages* said, “Child, I receive with pleasure whatever you give
“me, but I am not in such want of any of these things
“as to run you into danger for them.” “If you do

“not want them, grandfather, said *Cyrus*, pray give
“them to me; that I may distribute them to my com-
“panions.” “Child, said *Astyages*, take them, and
“distribute them to whom you please, and of every
“thing else whatever you will.” *Cyrus* taking the
beasts, gave them to the boys, and withal told them:
“Boys, said he, what very triflers were we, when
“we hunted in the park? In my opinion, it was as
“if one had tied the creatures by the leg and hunted
“them; for first, we were within a narrow compass
“of ground; then the creatures were poor, slender,
“scabby things; one was lame, another maimed;
“but the beasts in the mountains and marshes, how
“fine, how large, and how sleek they appear? The
“stags, as if they had wings, leap to the very hea-
“vens; the boars, as they say brave men do, attack
“one hand to hand; and their bulk is such that it
“is impossible to miss them. These, even when they
“are dead, says he, are, in my opinion, finer than
“those other walled up things when alive. But says
“he, would your father, think you, send you out
“a hunting?” “Yes very readily, said they, if
“*Astyages* ordered it.” *Cyrus* then said, “Who is
“there amongst you, therefore, that would mention
“it to *Astyages*?” “Who more able, said they, to
“persuade him than yourself?” “But truly said
“he, for my part, I know not what kind of creature
“I am become; for I am neither able to speak,
“nor can I any longer so much as meet my grand-
“father’s eyes; and if I go on in this way so fast,
“I fear,

“ I fear, says he, I shall become a mere block-head
“ and fool ; yet when I was a little boy I was thought
“ a notable talker.” The boys then said, “ You
“ tell us a sad piece of news, if you can do nothing
“ for us in case of need, but that we must beg that
“ of another, that is in your power to effect.”

CYRUS hearing this, was nettled, and retiring without saying a word, he stirred himself up to boldness ; and having contrived how to speak to his grandfather in the least offensive manner, and to obtain for himself and the boys what they desired, he went in. Thus then he began ; “ Tell me, said he, “ grandfather, if one of your domestic servants
“ should run away, and you should take him again ;
“ what would you do with him ? ” “ Why, said he, “ what should I do but put him in chains, and force
“ him to work.” “ But if a run-away should of himself return to you, what would you do ? ” “ What
“ else, said he, but have him whipped, that he may
“ do so no more, then make use of him as before ? ”
“ It is time, therefore, said *Cyrus*, to prepare yourself to bestow a whipping upon me, as having
“ contrived to run away, and take my companions
“ with me a hunting.” Then said *Astyages*, “ You have
“ done very well to tell me before-hand. For henceforward I order you not to stir. It is a fine thing,
“ indeed, said he, if, for the sake of a little venison,
“ I shall send out my daughter’s son to ramble at his
“ pleasure.”

CYRUS

CYRUS hearing this, obeyed ; and stayed at home much afflicted, carrying a melancholy countenance, and remained silent. *Astyages*, when he found that he was so extremely afflicted, being willing to please him, carries him out a-hunting. And assembling abundance of people, both foot and horse, and likewise the boys, and driving the beasts out into the champion country, he made a great hunt. And being himself present royally attended, he gave order that none should throw till *Cyrus* was satisfied and had enough of the exercise. But *Cyrus* would not let him hinder them. “ If you have a mind, grandfather, “ said he, that I should hunt with pleasure, let all “ those about me pursue and engage in the fray, and “ do the best.” *Astyages* then gave them his leave, and taking a station, saw them engaged amongst the beasts, striving to out-do each other, pursuing and throwing their javelins. He was delighted with *Cyrus*, who, in transports of joy, could not hold his tongue ; but like a young generous dog, that opens when he approaches the beast, he pursues, encouraged every one, calling upon them by name. He was pleased to see him laughing at one ; and another he observed him to praise cordially and without the least motion of envy. At last *Astyages*, having taken abundance of game, retired ; but was so pleased with that hunt, that he always went out with *Cyrus*, whenever he was able, taking abundance of people with him, and boys for the sake of *Cyrus*. Thus
for

for the most part did *Cyrus* pass his time, doing service and pleasure to all, and hurt to none.

BUT when he was about fifteen or sixteen years of age, the king of *Assyria*'s son, being to celebrate his nuptials, had a mind at that time to hunt; and hearing that there was plenty of game upon the borders of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*, they having not been hunted because of the war between the nations; hither he desired to go. That he might hunt therefore securely, he took with him a body of horse, and another of light-armed foot, who were to drive the beasts out of their fastnesses into the open cultivated country. Being come, therefore, to the place where their garrisons were, and a guard always attending; here he supped, as intending to hunt the next day early in the morning. But that evening a guard of horse and foot arrived from the city to relieve those who were there before. He therefore thought that he had now a handsome army with him, consisting of a double guard, besides a considerable number both of horse and foot that had attended upon himself. He judged it best, therefore, to undertake a plunder upon the *Median* territory; that this would be a nobler exploit than a hunt; and he thought he should procure a great store of beasts for sacrifice. So rising early in the morning, he led his army forwards. The foot he left in close order upon the borders: he himself advanced, with the horse, up to the *Median* garrisons; and keeping the best of them, and the greatest number with himself, he halted there, that the *Medes* in garri-
son

son might not march and charge those who were to scour the country. And such as were proper he sent out in parties, some to run one way and some another; and ordered them to surround and seize all that they met with, and bring all off to him. These did as they were ordered. But notice being given to *Astyages*, that the enemy was got into the country, he marched with what forces he had at hand, to the borders. His son did so in like manner, with some horse that were at hand; and he signified to all his other forces to march after, to support him. When they came up, and saw a great number of *Assyrians* in close order, and their horses standing quietly and still, the *Medes* likewise halted and stood.

CYRUS, seeing other people marching on all sides to support their friends, set forward himself, putting on his arms for the first time, never imagining that he should be so soon armed with them in the manner he desired; for they were very fine, and fitted him very well; being such as his grandfather had ordered to be made fit to his body. So being thus completely armed, he set out on horseback. *Astyages* getting sight of him, wondered by whose order and encouragement he came; however, he bid him keep by him. *Cyrus*, when he saw a great number of horsemen fronting him, asked, "Grandfather! said he, "are these men enemies that sit quietly there on horseback?" "They are enemies," said he. "And are those so too that are scouring the country?" "Yes, and those too." "By *Jove*! then, grandfather!"

"said

“ said he, methinks these that are thus plundering us
“ are wretched fellows, and mounted upon wretch-
“ ed horses ; and must not some of us march against
“ them?” “ Do not you see, child ! said he, what
“ a body of horse stands there in close order, and
“ who, if we advance against the others, will inter-
“ cept us ? and we have not yet our full strength
“ with us.” “ But said *Cyrus*, if you wait here, and
“ collect those that are marching to join us, these
“ of our enemies that are here will be under appre-
“ hension, and will not stir ; and the plunderers, when
“ they see any men marching against them, will pre-
“ sently drop their booty.” Upon his saying this,
Astyages thought there was something in what he said,
and wondering at his sagacity and vigilance, ordered
his son to take a squadron of horse, and march against
the plunderers ; “ I, said he, will bear down upon
“ these men that are here, if they offer to move to-
“ wards you ; so that they shall be obliged to be in-
“ tent upon us.”

CYAXARES taking of the strongest and
best, both of men and horses, marched. And *Cyrus*,
seeing these put forward, joined and pushed on with
them, and presently got at the head of them. *Cya-*
xares followed, and the rest were not left behind. As
soon as the plunderers saw them approaching, then
quitting their booty they fled. They that were with
Cyrus intercepted them, and fell to blows with such as
they could come up with, and *Cyrus* was the first at
the work. Those who, by turning aside, escaped them,
they

they pursued in the rear, and did not give over, but met with several of them. Like a generous dog that has not experience, and runs headlong without caution, upon a boar, so ran *Cyrus*; minding only to deal his blows where any came within his reach, without further foresight or consideration. The enemy, when they saw their people in distress, moved their main body; judging that the pursuit would cease as soon as they should be seen to advance. *Cyrus* notwithstanding did not give over, but calling out to his uncle for joy, pursued, and pressing continually on, put the enemy to an entire rout. *Cyaxares* followed, perhaps being in awe of his father; and the rest followed after, who, though perhaps they would not have shewn themselves very brave against men that had opposed them, yet were, upon this occasion, more than ordinarily eager in pursuing. *Astyages*, when he saw these men so incautiously pursuing, and the enemy in a close body marching towards them, fearing for his son and for *Cyrus*, lest they in disorder and confusion should fall in with the enemy, prepared to receive them, and suffer damage, he presently led on towards the enemy. The enemy, as soon as they saw the *Medes* move forward, halted; presented some of their javelins, and some their bows, in order to stop them when they came within bow-shot, as their general practice is. For when they are near they push each other at a certain distance, and so frequently skirmish on till evening. But when they saw their own men in full rout flying towards them, and

and those with *Cyrus* following close behind them, and *Astyages* with his horse already within bow-shot, they gave way and fled. The *Medes* in a body pursuing killed several in the first charge; and whoever they came up with they fell upon, whether man or horse; and whoever fell they killed. Nor did they stop till they came up with the *Assyrian* foot, and there they gave over, fearing lest some greater force than appeared might lie in ambuscade to receive them. *Astyages* upon this retreated, in much joy at this victory obtained by his cavalry, but knew not what to say to *Cyrus*; for he knew him to be the author of the action, and saw him wrought up to such a degree of boldness, as amounted almost to madness. For while the rest were retiring home, he alone by himself did nothing but ride round and view those that had fallen in the action. And they who had it in charge dragging him with difficulty away, brought him to *Astyages*, while he put his conductors forward before him, because he saw the countenance of his grandfather turn sour upon seeing him.

THESE things passed amongst the *Medes*; and all people had *Cyrus* in their mouths, both in their discourses and songs. But *Astyages*, who before had a great esteem for him, was now quite astonished and struck with him. *Cambyfes*, the father of *Cyrus*, was pleased to hear these things of him; but when he heard that *Cyrus* began to perform acts of manhood, he called him home, that he might compleat his institution among the *Persians*, according to the rules of his country. And upon this occasion, Cy-

rus is reported to have said, “ That he would return, “ left his father should be uneasy and his country “ blame him.” *Astyages* therefore seemed to be under a necessity of parting with him. So he sent him away, but first presented him with such horses as he desired to have, and furnishing him with other things of all kinds, both because of the affection he had for him, and because he had great assurance and hopes that he would prove a man thoroughly able to do service to his friends and mischief to his enemies.

ALL people waited upon *Cyrus* at his departure, attending him part of his way on horseback, both boys, youth, and men, and those in years ; so likewise did *Astyages* himself. And they say that not one turned back at parting with him without tears ; and it is said that *Cyrus* himself shed many tears at parting : that he gave many presents to his companions and equals in age, out of what *Astyages* had given him, and that at last, taking off the *Median* robe he had on, he gave it to a certain youth, declaring by this that he loved that youth the most of any. It is said that they who had taken and accepted of these presents, returned them to *Astyages*, and that *Astyages* sent them to *Cyrus*, but that he sent them back again to the *Medes*, and sent word thus, “ O grandfather ! if you would have me return hither again with pleasure and not with shame, “ let every one keep, what I have given him.” And that *Astyages* hearing this, did as *Cyrus* had begged him by his message to do.

BUT if I may be allowed to relate a sportive affair, it is said that when *Cyrus* went away, and that he and his relations parted, they took their leave and dismissed him with a kiss, according to the *Persian* custom; for the *Persians* practise it to this day. And that a certain *Mede*, a very excellent person, who had been long struck with the beauty of *Cyrus*, that when he saw *Cyrus*'s relations kiss him, he stayed behind, and when the rest were gone, accosted *Cyrus*, and said to him, "And am I, *Cyrus*! the only one of all your relations that you do not know?" "What! said *Cyrus*, and are you a relation?" "Yes," said he, "This was the reason, then, said *Cyrus*, that you used to gaze at me; for I think I recollect that you frequently did so." "I was very desirous," said he, to salute you, but I was always ashamed to do it." "But, said *Cyrus*, you that are a relation ought not to have been so." So coming up to him he kissed him. The *Mede* having received the kiss, is said to have asked this question; "And is it a custom amongst the *Persians* to kiss relations?" "It is so, said *Cyrus*, when they see one another at some distance of time, or when they part." "Then, said the *Mede*, it seems now to be time for you to kiss me again; for, as you see, I am just going away." So *Cyrus* kissing him again, dismissed him, and went his way. They had not gone very far before the *Mede* came up with him again, with his horse all over in a sweat; and *Cyrus* getting sight of him, said, "What, have you for-

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" got

“ got any thing that you had a mind to say to me ?”
“ No, by *Jove* ! said he, but I am come again at
“ a distance of time.” “ Dear relation ! said he, it is
“ a very short one.” “ How, a short one ! said the
“ *Mede*, do you not know, *Cyrus* ! said he, that the
“ very twinkling of my eyes is a long time to be
“ without seeing you ; you who are so lovely ?” Here
Cyrus, from being in tears broke out into laughter,
bid him “ go his way and take courage ; that in a
“ little time he would be with them again ; and that
“ then he would be at liberty to look at him if he
“ pleased with steady eyes and without twinkling.”

CYRUS returning thus into *Persia*, is said to have continued a year longer amongst the boys. At first they made their jests upon him, as being now come home instructed amongst the *Medes* in luxury and and pleasure. But when they saw that he cloathed himself as they did, that he drank as they did, and with pleasure ; and that in festivals, when they had a little more than ordinary plenty, they perceived him more ready to give his share away than desirous to have it himself : and besides, when they saw him in all other respects much superior to themselves, they were then astonished at him. Then having passed through the discipline o these years, and entering the order of youth, he here again appeared superior to the rest, both in executing what was fit, in undergoing every thing that was his part so to do, in his respects to his elders, and in his obedience to his rulers.

IN progress of time, *Astyages* died, and his son *Cyaxares*, brother to *Cyrus's* mother, took upon him the government of the *Medes*. And the king of *Assyria* having overthrown all the *Syrians*, who were no small nation, and having subjected the king of the *Arabs*, and holding the *Hyrceanians* under his dominion, and being at that time attacking the *Bactrians*, considered, that if he could break the power of the *Medes*, he should easily obtain the dominion of all around him. For the *Medes* seemed to be the strongest of all the neighbouring nations. So he sent round to all those that were subject to himself; he sent to *Cræsus*, king of *Lydia*, to the king of *Cappadocia*, to both the *Phrygia's*, to the *Carians*, *Paphlagonians*, *Indians*, and *Cilicians*, loading the *Medes* and *Persians* with calumny and reproach; telling them, how great, how powerful, and how united in interest these two nations were by means of several intermarriages; that they would unite into one; and if he did not prevent them, and break their power, they would run risk, by attacking each nation severally, to overturn all. Some being persuaded by these arguments, entered into a confederacy with him; others were prevailed with by money and presents; for in these he abounded.

CYAXARES, the son of *Astyages*, when he perceived this design and these united preparations against him, did himself immediately make the utmost preparation that he was able, to oppose them; and he sent to the *Persians*, both to the publick coun-

cil and to *Cambyfes*, who was married to his fister, and was king of *Persia*. He sent likewise to *Cyrus*, desiring him to endeavour to come commander of the forces, if the publick council of the *Persians* should send any. For *Cyrus* by this time had compleated ten years amongst the youth, and was now of the full-grown men.

So *Cyrus* accepting it, the elders in council chose him commander of the expedition into *Media*. They gave him power to choose two hundred from amongst those who were equally entituled to all honours, and to each of these they gave power to choose four of their own order. These all together made a thousand. Again, to each of these thousand they gave a power to choose from amongst the common people of *Persia*, ten shield-men, ten slingers, and ten archers. Thus there were ten thousand archers, ten thousand shield-men, and ten thousand slingers, and the thousand besides; so great was the army that was given to *Cyrus*: And as soon as he was chosen, he began by making application to the gods; and having sacrificed happily and successfully, he then chose the two hundred; and when these had afterwards chosen each their four, he assembled them together, and made his first discourse to them thus:

“ FRIENDS, I have chosen you, not as having now
“ for the first time had proof of your worth, but as
“ having seen you from boys, performing with ardor,
“ all things that the city judges excellent and noble,
“ and avoiding entirely whatever it reckons mean
“ and

“ and base. I would now lay before you upon what
“ account it is that I, (not unwillingly) am placed
“ in this station; and that I have called you toge-
“ ther. I have thought that our forefathers were
“ no ways inferior to ourselves; for they passed
“ their days in continual exercise and practice of
“ such things as are thought actions of virtue; but
“ what, with this their virtue, they have acquired
“ either for the publick of *Persia*, or for themselves,
“ I cannot yet discover. Yet, in my opinion, men
“ practise no virtue, but that by it they may gain
“ the advantage of the vicious. They who abstain
“ from pleasures in present, do not do it that they
“ may never have delight; but they do it, that by
“ means of that temperance in present, they may
“ in future time have returns of delight manifold.
“ They who are desirous to be powerful in speaking,
“ do not exercise themselves in it, that they may
“ never give over discoursing; but they do it in
“ hopes, that, prevailing upon numbers of men by
“ the power of their eloquence, they may effect many
“ things, and those of great consequence.

“ They who exercise themselves in martial affairs
“ do not take pains in it, that they may never cease
“ fighting, but they judge that by making them-
“ selves able in military affairs, they shall acquire
“ great riches, great happiness, and great honours
“ to themselves and to their country. And if any
“ have taken pains to acquire ability and skill in
“ these affairs, and without reaping any fruits from
“ them,

“ them, have neglected themselves till they have
“ been disabled by old age, in my opinion, they
“ have undergone the same fate as one who were desi-
“ rous to be a good husbandman would do; who
“ sowing and planting with skill, when the time
“ came for gathering the fruits, should let them
“ all fall ungathered to the ground again. And as
“ a wrestler, who, after much pains bestowed, and be-
“ coming qualified for victory, should pass his days
“ without entering the lists. And, in my opinion,
“ such a one could not justly be freed from the im-
“ putation of folly. Let not us, friends, submit
“ to such a fate! But since we are conscious to
“ ourselves, that from boys we are exercised in all
“ great and noble things, let us march against these
“ enemies of ours, that I, an eye-witness, well know
“ to be poor insignificant men as antagonists to you.
“ For such men are not very dangerous antagonists,
“ who, though they may be skilful at their bow,
“ and their javelin, and in horsemanship, yet when
“ they are to undergo toil and labour, sink under
“ it: and these men, with respect to pains and la-
“ bour, are mean and poor. Nor are such men
“ dangerous antagonists, who, when they are to
“ watch, and deny themselves their usual rest, are
“ quite broken by it: and in this respect likewise,
“ these men are mean and poor. Nor are such dan-
“ gerous antagonists, who, though able in all these
“ respects, yet are ignorant how to deal either with
“ allies or with enemies: and these men are evidently
“ ignorant

“ ignorant and unpractised in the noblest arts. But
“ you can make use of the night, as others of the day;
“ you reckon that toil and pains must conduct you
“ to a life of pleasure ; you can use hunger to relish
“ your food, as others do the daintiest meats ; you
“ even with more ease than lions, can bear the drink-
“ ing of plain water ; and you carry within your minds
“ the noblest and most warlike quality in the world ;
“ for praise is what you are pleased with above all
“ things, and they that are lovers of praise do of
“ course undergo all toil, and all danger with pleasure.
“ If I say these things of you, and know otherwise,
“ I abuse myself ; for whatever falls short of this in
“ your conduct, the deficiency will fall upon me.
“ But I trust to my own experience, to your good
“ will towards me, and to the folly of our enemies,
“ that these good hopes will not fail me. Let us set
“ forward with confidence, since we are far from ap-
“ pearing to be taken with an unjust desire of what
“ belongs to others ; for our enemies are coming upon
“ us, being themselves the aggressors in wrong ; our
“ friends call us to their assistance : What therefore
“ is more just than to repel injuries ? What more
“ noble than to help our friends ? Besides, methinks
“ it ought not to be one of the least grounds of your
“ confidence in this case, that I do not set out upon
“ this expedition with neglect of the gods : For you
“ who have conversed much with me, know that I
“ have endeavoured to begin not great affairs only,
“ but even little ones, with application to the gods.
“ To

“ To conclude, said he, what further shall I say? Do
 “ you make choice of your men, and take them under
 “ your care; and making all things else ready, march
 “ to the *Medes*; I, first returning back to my father,
 “ will go before you, that I may learn, as soon as
 “ possible, the condition of the enemy, and prepare
 “ things for you as well as I can, that, with God’s
 “ assistance, we may carry on this war in the noblest
 “ manner.” These men did as *Cyrus* required.

CYRUS returning home, and having made his
 supplications to *Vesta*, and to *Jove* paternal, and the
 other deities, set out upon this expedition, and his
 father attended him on his way. As soon as they
 were out of the house, it is said, that it thundered and
 lightned in a happy manner. Upon which they went
 on without further augury; as if no one could be ig-
 norant what these signals of the most powerful God
 imported. As *Cyrus* proceeded on upon his journey,
 his father began a discourse with him in this manner:

“ THAT the gods send you out upon this expedi-
 “ tion propitiously and favourably, is evident, child,
 “ both from the sacrifices, and from the signals from
 “ heaven. And you yourself know it to be so; for
 “ I have purposely taught you these things, that you
 “ might not come to the knowlege of what the gods
 “ advise and direct you to, by means of other inter-
 “ preters; but that you yourself, seeing what is to be
 “ seen, and hearing what is to be heard, may under-
 “ stand, and not be at the mercy of diviners, who,
 “ if they please, may deceive you, and tell you dif-
 “ ferent

“ferent things from what the gods really signify to
“you: and that in case you are without a diviner,
“you may not be at a loss what use to make of the
“divine signals, but by your knowlege in divination,
“understanding the advices given you by the gods,
“you may comply with them.” “Father, said *Cyrus*,
“I will always continue using my utmost care, ac-
“cording to your instruction, to render the gods pro-
“pitious to us, and willing to give us their advice
“and direction. For I remember to have heard it
“from you, that, as from men, so likewise from the
“gods, the most likely person to obtain his suit, is
“not he who, when he is in distress, flatters servilely,
“but he who in his most happy circumstances is most
“mindful of the gods. And you used to say, that
“it was in the same manner that one ought to culti-
“vate friends.” “Therefore, child, said he, upon
“the account of this your care, you now apply to
“the gods, and make your requests to them with the
“more pleasure, and you have the better hopes to
“obtain what you ask, appearing to yourself conscious
“that you have never neglected them.” “Truly
“father, said he, I am for that reason in such a tem-
“per of mind with respect to the gods, as to reckon
“them my friends.”—“Well child, said he, do
“you remember these other opinions that we hereto-
“fore agreed in? As that in all things that the gods
“bestow, such men, as have acquired skill and know-
“lege in them, act and succeed better than they who
“are ignorant in them? That the laborious succeed
“better

“ better than the idle? That the diligent and the
“ careful live with more security, than the negligent
“ and careless? And that therefore first rendering
“ ourselves such as we ought to be, we then should
“ make our prayers to the gods for their blessings?”
“ Yes indeed, said *Cyrus*, I do remember to have heard
“ these things from you; and I was forced to sub-
“ mit to your reasoning; for I know you used to say,
“ that it was downright impiety, for such as had
“ never learned to ride, to supplicate the gods for
“ victory in engagements of horse; or for such as
“ had never learned the use of the bow, to ask the
“ superiority at this very weapon, over those who
“ understood it; or for such as knew not how to
“ steer, to pray that they might preserve ships in
“ quality of pilots; or for such as have not sown
“ wheat, to pray that they might have a good crop
“ of it; or for such as are not watchful in war, to
“ pray that they may be preserved in safety; for
“ that all such things were contrary to the settled
“ laws of the gods; and you said, that such as
“ made impious prayers, would probably meet with
“ disappointments from the gods; as such would
“ fail of success with men, who should desire things
“ contrary to all human laws.

“ AND have you forgot, child, said he, these
“ other matters that you and I have heretofore dis-
“ coursed upon? As that it was a great and noble
“ work for a man to be able to approve himself a
“ good and excellent man, and to find means to sup-
“ ply

“ply himself and his family with plenty of all things
“necessary. And this being thus allowed to be a
“great work, that to understand how to govern other
“men, so as to supply them with all things necessary
“and in abundance, and so as to render them such
“as they ought to be, this we thought to be an asto-
“nishing work! Yes truly, father, said he, I remem-
“ber to have heard you say this, and I was of opinion
“with you, that to govern well was a work of the
“highest nature. And it now appears to me to be
“so, said he, when I consider it with respect to go-
“vernment itself; but when I consider it with respect
“to other men, what kind of men these governors
“are, and what kind of men they are who are to be
“our antagonists; I think it very mean to be terrified
“with such people, and to be unwilling to march
“and engage them. Men, said he, who, to begin
“with these friends of ours, I find are of opinion,
“that a governor ought to distinguish himself from
“those that he governs, by his eating more sumptu-
“ously, by having more gold in his house, by sleep-
“ing longer, and by living in all respects more at ease
“than those that he governs. But my opinion is, said
“he, that a governor ought to differ from the govern-
“ed, not by a life of ease and luxury; but by care
“and circumspection, and by his readiness to undergo
“toil and labour.”—“But child, said he, there
“are some matters wherein you are not to contend
“with men, but with things; and to have these
“plentifully at command is no easy matter. You
“readily

“ readily know that if the army have not necessaries,
“ your command is immediately dissolved and falls
“ to pieces.” “ Father, said he, therefore *Cyaxares*
“ says, that he will afford them to all that go from
“ hence, however great the number be.” You go
“ then child, said he, trusting in these matters en-
“ tirely to *Cyaxares*’s riches.” “ I do, said *Cyrus*.”
“ Well, said he, but do you know what these riches
“ are ?” “ No truly, said *Cyrus*, I do not.” Yet,
“ said he, to these things that you are thus in the
“ dark about, do you trust. Do not you know,
“ that you will be in want of abundance of things,
“ and that now you must of necessity spend abun-
“ dance ?” “ I do know it, said *Cyrus*.” If there-
“ fore, said he, the supply of this expence fail him,
“ or that he purposely deal falsely by you, how will the
“ affairs of the army then stand ? It is plain, not
“ very well.” “ Then father, said he, if you know
“ any means of obtaining a supply, and such as
“ may depend upon myself, whilst I am yet upon
“ friendly ground, pray tell it me.” “ Do you ask,
“ child, said he, if there be any means of supply
“ depending upon yourself ? And upon whom are
“ these things more likely to depend, than upon
“ one who has power in his hands ? You go from
“ hence with such a body of foot, as I very well
“ know you would not exchange for any other,
“ though many times their number ; and you will
“ have the *Median* cavalry, who are the best, and
“ who will be with you as your allies and friends.

“ What

“ What nation is there then all around, that you
“ think will not serve you, both out of a desire to gain
“ your favour, and for fear of receiving harm? These
“ matters you ought to concert with *Cyaxares*, that
“ nothing of what is necessary for you may be want-
“ ing, and upon account of the continual expence,
“ you ought to secure a revenue and supply that may
“ be always accruing. But above all things remem-
“ ber this, never to delay the procuring your supply
“ till want presses you to it; but while you have the
“ greatest plenty, and before you come to want, then
“ labour the most to make sure of it. For you will
“ succeed the better with those from whom you de-
“ mand it, when you seem not to be in want; and
“ your men will have nothing to blame you for. By
“ this means likewise you will have more respect paid
“ you by others; and if by means of your forces, you
“ have a mind to do service or prejudice to any, while
“ your men are supplied with all that they want, they
“ will do you better service. And be assured that
“ your words will carry greater weight with them,
“ when you can shew, that you have it in your power
“ to do service or to do hurt.” “ I am satisfied, father,
“ said he, that you are right in all this, both for other
“ reasons, as well as particularly because there are none
“ of the soldiers that will pay me thanks for what they
“ are now to receive: for they know upon what terms
“ *Cyaxares* takes them as his allies; but whatever any of
“ them shall receive over and above what is agreed,
“ this they will reckon favour, and will pay the great-
“ est

“est gratitude to the bestower of it. And indeed,
 “for one who has a force, by whose means he may
 “receive advantages in return of service done to
 “friends, and may endeavour to make conquest
 “upon enemies; for such a one to be careless in
 “securing himself supplies, can one think this, said
 “he, to be less reproachful, than it would be in a
 “man who had lands, and had servants to cul-
 “tivate them, and who after all should let those
 “lands lie fallow and useless. Depend upon it
 “therefore, said he, that both in the territory of
 “friends and of enemies, I will not be sparing of
 “my care to supply my men with all things fit-
 “ting.”

“Well, child, said he, and do you remember
 “certain other things that we heretofore agreed it
 “was necessary not to neglect?” — “Yes, said
 “he, for I remember that, when I came to you
 “for money to give a man, who pretended to have
 “taught me the art of commanding an army, as
 “you gave me the money you asked me, — Child,
 “said you, did this man that you carry this reward
 “to, ever amongst the arts and business of a gene-
 “ral mention any thing of œconomy to you? For
 “soldiers in an army are not less in want of things
 “necessary than are domesticks in a family: and
 “when, telling you the truth, I said that he had not
 “made the least mention of it, you asked me a-
 “gain: — Whether he had spoken to me concern-
 “ing the health and strength of my men? As that
 “a gene-

“ a general ought to mind these things, as well as
“ the leading and managing of them in action;
“ when I told you, no; you again asked me, —
“ Whether he had taught me how to take care to
“ make my men the most able at all war-like exer-
“ cises? and when I denied this too; you enquired
“ again, — Whether he had given me any instruc-
“ tion, how I might raise spirit and courage in an
“ army; for, you said, that, in every action there
“ were vast odds between an army’s being in spirit
“ and out of heart. When I denied this too, you
“ enquired again, — Whether he had held any
“ discourse to teach me, how one might best bring
“ an army to ready obedience? When you found,
“ that this had not been in the least spoken of, you
“ at last enquired, — “ What it was he had taught
“ me then, that he could say he had taught me the
“ art of commanding an army? Here I replied and
“ told you the tacticks, or the art of forming and
“ moving in order. — You laughing at this, ran
“ over each particular, asking me what use there
“ was in generalship of tacticks without necessities?
“ what without health? what without skill in the
“ arts that have been invented for the use of war?
“ what without obedience? — So you made it
“ evident to me, that this tactick art was but a
“ small part of generalship. And when I asked whe-
“ ther you were able to teach me any of these matters?
“ you bid me go my ways, and discourse with men that
“ were reputed knowing in military affairs, and enquire
E “ from

“ from them how these matters stood.—Upon this, I
“ conversed with such as I had heard were most know-
“ ing in these matters: And with respect to health,
“ having heard and observed that cities, that want
“ health, get physicians; and that commanders, for the
“ sake of their men, take physicians with them; so
“ when I was placed in this station I presently took
“ care of this: And I believe, father! said he, that
“ I have men with me that are very able in the art of
“ physic.” To this the father replied; “ But, child!
“ said he, these men that you speak of are like
“ menders of torn cloths; so when people are sick,
“ physicians cure them: But your care of health is
“ to be of a nobler kind; to prevent the army’s be-
“ coming sickly, is what you ought to take care of.”
“ And which way, father, said he, shall I be able
“ to do this?” “ Why if you are to stay some
“ time in a place, you ought not to be careless in
“ your choice of a healthy camp: And in this you
“ will not be deceived, provided you are but care-
“ ful; for men are continually talking of healthy
“ and unhealthy places, and upon the places them-
“ selves, there are sure witnesses to give their testi-
“ mony either way, both by their persons and com-
“ plexions. But then it will not suffice you to con-
“ sider places only, but pray recollect what course
“ you have taken yourself, in your endeavours to
“ preserve your health.” Cyrus then said, “ In the
“ first place, I endeavour not to over-fill myself;
“ for it is a very burthenfome thing; and then what
“ I take

“I take down I work off by exercise. By this
“means I think that I preserve health and acquire
“vigour.” “In the same manner therefore, child,
“said he, you must take care of others.” “And
“shall we have leisure, said he, father! to exercise
“the soldiers in this manner?” “You will not only
“have leisure, said the father, but necessity will
“oblige you to it; for an army that will do its duty,
“must never be at rest, but employed either in
“distressing the enemy, or making advantages to
“themselves. It is a difficult matter for a single
“man to be maintained idle, and yet more difficult
“for a family; but most difficult of all to maintain
“an army idle. For in an army, from the lowest
“to the highest, there are many mouths, and what
“they get they spend very lavishly; so that it is ne-
“ver fit for an army to be idle.” “You seem to
“me, father! said he, to say, that as an idle hus-
“bandman is good for nothing, so is an idle gene-
“ral good for nothing. But unless some god blast
“my endeavours, I take it upon me to shew you a
“diligent and active general, and soldiers well sup-
“plied with all things necessary, and to take care
“that their bodies shall be in the best condition.—
“But with respect to the several military arts, fa-
“ther! said he, in my opinion, he that should esta-
“blish games in the several kinds, and propose cer-
“tain rewards to such as should excel in them,
“would make them be best practised, so as to have
“them ready for use upon occasion.” “Child, said he,
“you

“ You say very well ; for by doing this, you will see the
“ several orders and divisions of your men, like sets
“ of dancers, always performing their proper parts.”

“ But then, said *Cyrus*, with respect to the rais-
“ ing courage and spirit amongst the soldiers ; I
“ think nothing more effectual, that to give the men
“ great hopes of advantage.” “ But child ! said he,
“ this expedient is just as if any one in hunting
“ should always encourage the dogs in the same man-
“ ner that is used when the beast is in view ; for one
“ that should do thus, would have them very eager
“ and ready at his encouragement at first, but if he
“ often deceived them, they would at last give no
“ attention to his encouragement, when the beast
“ was really in view. It is the same with respect to
“ these hopes ; if any one should baulk men often,
“ after having raised them to mighty expectations,
“ he would not at last be able to prevail with them,
“ though he talked to them of hopes never so real
“ and well grounded. But, child ! said he, you must
“ be very cautious in saying any thing that you do not
“ very well know ; the same thing sometimes said by
“ others may do the business ; your own encourage-
“ ment you must, with the utmost care, preserve in
“ credit for the greatest occasions.” “ Indeed, father,
“ said *Cyrus*, in my opinion you say perfectly well,
“ and this way is to me much the more agreeable.”

“ But in the matter of rendering the soldiers obe-
“ dient, I take myself, father ! not to be unskilled.
“ For presently from a boy you took me under dis-
“ cipline,

“cipline, and obliged me to be obedient to you;
“then you gave me up to my teachers, and they did
“the same thing: Then again, when I became one
“of the youth, our ruler took effectual care, in this
“matter; and there are many laws that, in my opi-
“nion, tend chiefly to the teaching of these two
“things, how to govern, and how to obey: And
“upon considering them, I think I find that the
“most proper means to enforce obedience, is to
“praise and recompense the obedient, and to dis-
“grace and punish the disobedient.” “Indeed
“child! said he, to a forced obedience this is the
“way; but to a willing obedience, which is much
“the better, there is another way, and a readier.
“For whoever men take to be more knowing than
“themselves in what is for their interest and advan-
“tage; such a one they obey with pleasure. This
“you may know to be true in many other cases, as
“well as particular in that of sick people, who
“are mighty ready and zealous in sending for such
“as may prescribe what is fit for them to do; so at
“sea, the people that are on board, are very ready
“and zealous to obey their pilots; and travellers
“are extremely averse to part with such as they
“think know the roads better than themselves: But
“when men think that they shall be injured by their
“obedience, they will neither yield to punishments
“nor be raised by rewards; for no one willingly
“takes a reward to his own prejudice.” “You say,
“father! said he, that nothing more effectually pro-

“cures one obedience than to appear to have more
“wisdom and knowledge than those that one rules.”
“I do say so,” says he. “And how, father! said he,
“shall one be best able to raise such an opinion of
“one’s self?”—“Child! said he, there is no readier
“way to appear wise and knowing in things wherein
“you desire to appear so, than to be in reality
“knowing in those things; and considering the
“things in particular, you will find, that what I say
“is true. For if you would appear a good hus-
“bandman, a good horseman, a good physician, a
“good player upon the flute, or any other artist
“whatever, when you really are not so; consider
“how many contrivances you must use in order to
“appear so. And if you can prevail with a great
“many people to commend you, that you may
“gain a reputation, and if you purchase fine instru-
“ments, and furniture belonging to each of the arts,
“you are then an impostor. And soon after, when
“you come to give proof of your skill, you would be
“convicted, and would appear an arrogant boaster.
“But with respect to future time, and to what
“may or may not turn to advantage in the conse-
“quence, what is the way to make one’s self in this
“really wise and knowing? It is plain, child! said
“he, by learning every thing that one can acquire
“the knowledge of by learning, as you have learned
“the tactick art; but with respect to what is not
“to be learnt from men, nor attained to by human
“fore-sight, consulting the gods in such cases by di-
“vination,

“ vination, you will make yourself more knowing
“ than others : And what you find most proper to
“ be done, you are to take care that it be done ; for
“ to see to the execution of what is proper, is more
“ the part of a man of prudence than to neglect it.”

“ BUT then, said *Cyrus*, as to the being beloved
“ by those that one rules, which is amongst the
“ things I take to be of the greatest importance.
“ It is evident, that the way is the same as it is to
“ gain the love of friends : for I know very well
“ that one ought to be seen doing them service.”
“ But child ! said he, it is a matter of great diffi-
“ culty to be always able to serve those that one has
“ a mind to serve ; but to be observed to rejoice
“ with them when any good fortune befalls them ;
“ and to grieve with them when any thing ill ; to
“ appear zealous to assist them in their distresses ;
“ afraid lest they should miscarry in any thing ; and
“ to endeavour to prevent this by care and circum-
“ spection ; these are things that you ought rather
“ to concur with them in. And in point of action,
“ the commander ought to be observed to undergo
“ more heat in summer, and in the winter more
“ cold, and in great fatigues more labour and pains,
“ than others ; for all these things contribute to the
“ being beloved by those that are under one’s go-
“ vernment.” “ You say, father ! said he, that a com-
“ mander ought, in all respects, to undergo more
“ than those that he commands.” “ I do say it,
“ said he : And be of good courage, child ! for be
“ assured,

“ assured, that bodies being alike, the same labours
“ do not fall equally heavy upon the commander,
“ and the private man ; for glory makes those la-
“ bours lighter to the commander, and the being
“ conscious to himself that in whatever he does,
“ he does not lie concealed.”

“ But then, father ! when the soldiers are sup-
“ plied with all things necessary, when they are in
“ health, and able to undergo labour, when they
“ are skilful and well exercised in all the military
“ arts, when they are ambitious to appear brave
“ men, when obedience is more pleasing to them
“ than the contrary ; would not you think a man
“ wise who should then desire, upon the first oppor-
“ tunity, to bring them to an engagement with the
“ enemy ?” “ Yes truly, said he, provided that
“ he had the enemy at a proper advantage. But if
“ otherwise, the better I thought of myself, and
“ the better I thought of my men, the more upon
“ my guard would I be ; and as in other things that
“ we think of greatest value to us, so in these, we
“ should endeavour to have them secured in the
“ strongest manner.”

X “ AND what is the best way, father ! to take ad-
“ vantage of the enemy ?” “ Truly, child ! said he,
“ this is no contemptible nor simple business that
“ you enquire about. But be it known to you,
“ that he who is to do this must be full of wiles, a
“ dissembler, crafty, deceitful, a thief, and a rob-
“ ber, and must take advantage of his enemy in all
“ man-

“manner of ways.” *Cyrus* laughing at this, cried out, “O *Hercules*! what a man, father! do you say that I must be?” “Such a one, child! said he, as may yet have the strictest regard to law and justice.” “Why then, said he, while we were boys, and while we were youths, did you teach us the direct contrary.” “And so truly we do still, said he, with respect to friends and fellow-citizens. But do you not know, that in order to injure enemies, you have learnt a great many mischievous arts?” “Not I, father! said he.” “To what end then, said he, did you learn the use of the bow? and to throw the javelin? To what end did you learn to deceive wild boars with toils and trenches, and stags with snares and gins? What is the reason that in your encountering lions, bears, and leopards, you do not put yourself upon an even footing with them, but endeavour to take all advantages in engaging them? Do not you know that these are all mischievous artifices, deceits, subtilties, and takings of advantage?” “Yes truly, said *Cyrus*, against beasts; but if I was discovered intending to deceive a man, I got a good many stripes for it.” “Nor did we I think, said he, allow you to shoot with a bow, or throw a javelin at a man? but we taught you to throw at a mark, that you might not at that time do mischief to your friends; but that, in case of war, you might be able to take your aim at men. And we instructed you to practise de-

“ceits,

“ ceits, and to take advantages not upon men, but
 “ upon beasts, that you might not hurt your friends
 “ by these means, but that in case a war should hap-
 “ pen, you might not be unpractised in them.”—
 “ Therefore, said he, father ! if it be of use to know
 “ both how to do men good, and how to do them
 “ harm, it ought to have been taught us how to prac-
 “ tise both upon men.”—“ Child ! said he, in the
 “ time of our fore-fathers, there is said to have been
 “ a certain teacher of youth, who, just as you de-
 “ fire, taught the boys both to deal justly and un-
 “ justly ; to be true and to be false ; to deceive
 “ and not to deceive ; to practise calumny and not
 “ to practise it ; to take advantage and not to take
 “ advantage. And he distinguished what was to
 “ be practised towards friends and what toward ene-
 “ mies ; and proceeding yet farther, he taught,
 “ that it was just even to deceive friends, if it were
 “ done for their good ; and just, to play the thief
 “ and to steal from friends, what belonged to them,
 “ if it were done for their good. And this teach-
 “ er was obliged to exercise the boys one against
 “ another in the practice of these things, as they say
 “ the *Greeks* teach to deceive in wrestling ; and ex-
 “ ercise the boys in it one against another, that they
 “ may know how to put it in practice. Some there-
 “ fore, having so natural an aptness to deceive, and
 “ take advantage, and perhaps no natural unaptness
 “ to make profit and advantage to themselves, did
 “ not refrain from using their endeavours to take
 “ advan-

“ advantages upon friends. Upon this, therefore, a
“ decree was made, which is yet in force among us;
“ to teach the boys simply and directly, as we teach
“ our servants in their behaviour towards us, to tell
“ truth, not to deceive, not to steal, not to take ad-
“ vantage ; and if they transgress in these things,
“ to punish them, that being so accustomed to these
“ manners, they might become more mild and tract-
“ able citizens. ✓ But when they came to the age
“ you now are at, to teach them what is lawful with
“ respect to enemies, seemed what might be done se-
“ curely ; for it did not seem probable that being bred
“ together with a reverence for each other, you
“ should afterwards break out so as to become wild
“ and savage citizens : just as we avoid discoursing
“ concerning the affairs of the beautiful goddesses be-
“ fore very young people, lest, a freedom from re-
“ straint being added to a vehement desire, they
“ should fall into great excess in their dealings that
“ way.” — “ To me, therefore, said he, father ! as
“ being a very late learner of these artifices, do not
“ refuse to teach them, if you know any ; that I
“ may take advantage of the enemy.” “ Do all
“ then, said he, that is in your power, with your own
“ men in the best order, to take the enemy in dis-
“ order ; the enemy unarmed, with your own men
“ armed ; the enemy sleeping, with your own men
“ waking ; the enemy open and exposed to you,
“ yourself being concealed and in the dark to them ;
“ to fall upon them while engaged in difficult places,
“ your-

“yourself being master of a place of strength.”

“And how, said he, can one possibly catch the enemy

“making such mistakes as these?” “Because child!

“said he, both the enemy, and yourselves are obliged

“by necessity to undergo many things of this kind.

“For you must both get provisions; you must both

“necessarily have rest; and in the morning you must

“all almost together retire for necessary occasions;

“and in your marches, you must make use of such

“roads as you find, whatever they are; considering all

“these things, in whatever part you know yourself to

“be the weakest, in that you must be the most watch-

“ful; and in whatever part you observe the enemy to

“be most exposed, in that you must attack him.”

“Is it in these things only, said *Cyrus*, that advan-

“tages are to be taken, or may it be done in others?”

“It may be done in others, child! said he, and more

“effectually; for in these cases men for the most

“part place strong guards, knowing full well that

“they are necessary: They that would deceive the

“enemy, may possibly, by raising in them a confi-

“dence and security, surprize them unguarded; or by

“letting themselves be pursued, may bring the ene-

“my into disorder, and inticing them on, by their

“flight, into a disadvantageous post, may there attack

“them: But you, child! who are fond of skill in all

“these affairs, must not make use of such things only

“as you have been informed of; you must be your-

“self the contriver of some stratagems to put in

“practice against the enemy. For as musicians do that

“only

“ only deal in such songs as they have been taught,
“ but endeavour to compose others: And as in
“ music, such pieces as are new, and, as one may say,
“ in flower, meet with success and approbation; so in
“ affairs of war, new contrivances are best approved;
“ for they are most capable of deceiving the ene-
“ my.—But, child! said he, if you do no more than
“ transfer to men those contrivances that you have
“ used, to ensnare little animals, do not you think,
“ said he, you will go a great way in the art of taking
“ advantage of your enemy? For in order to catch
“ birds, you used to rise and go out in the night, in
“ the hardest winter; and before the birds were stir-
“ ring, you had your nets ready laid for them. And
“ a moveable foundation was disguised, and made
“ like an immovable one; you had birds ready taught
“ to serve your ends, and to deceive those of their
“ own kind; you yourself lay hid, but so as to see
“ them, and not to be seen by them; and you watched
“ your opportunity to draw your nets, and to prevent
“ the birds escaping. Then with respect to the hare;
“ because she feeds in the dusk, and makes away to
“ her form by day, you keep dogs; some of them
“ to find her by the scent; and because she takes to
“ her heels, as soon as she is discovered, you have
“ other dogs, that are proper to take her at her
“ course; and if she escape these, then, having be-
“ fore discovered the meshes, and to what parts the
“ hares choose to run, in these places you lay nets that
“ are hardly to be seen; that in the eagerness of her
“ course

“ course throwing herself into the net, she may be
“ hampered: And that she may not escape this snare,
“ you set people to watch what passes; and these from
“ some places near, are presently upon her; you your-
“ self follow her; you astonish and amaze her with
“ clamour and noise that never quits her, so that in
“ this distraction she is taken. And you make those
“ that are set to watch lie concealed, with instructions
“ before-hand to be perfectly still and silent. ~~As~~ I
“ said before, therefore, if you would form some such
“ contrivances against men, I do not know that you
“ would leave one enemy alive. But if there is a
“ necessity to fight upon even terms with respect to
“ situation, openly, and both parties prepared and
“ armed, in such a case, child! those advantages, that
“ you have been long before provided with, are of
“ great weight; I mean those when the bodies of your
“ men are duly exercised, their minds keen, and all
“ the soldiers arts well practised. Besides, it is very
“ necessary that you should know, that whoever they
“ are that you desire should be obedient to you, they
“ on their part will desire you to be provident and
“ careful of them: Therefore never be remiss, but
“ consider at night what your men shall do when it is
“ day; and consider in the day how matters may be
“ upon the best foot with respect to the passing of the
“ night. But as to the forming your army for battle;
“ the marching them either by day or by night,
“ through narrow or open ways, through mountains
“ or plains; how to encamp; how to place your
“ guards

“ guards and watches both by night and day ; how
“ to lead towards the enemy ; how to retreat from
“ them ; how to march by a city belonging to the
“ enemy ; how to march up to a rampart, and to re-
“ treat from it ; how to pass woods or rivers ; how
“ to be upon the guard, either against horse or
“ against men armed with javelin or bow : And if,
“ when you are marching by way of either wing, the
“ enemy should appear, how to form a front against
“ them ; and if you are marching by your front,
“ and that the enemy appear in another part and not
“ in front, how to lead against them ; how to get the
“ best intelligence of the enemy’s affairs ; and how
“ best to conceal your own from them : In all these
“ matters what can I say to you ? You have often
“ heard from me all that I knew of them, and be-
“ sides, whoever you have thought knowing in any
“ of these affairs, you have not neglected to take
“ their information ; nor are you unskilled in them.
“ Therefore according to the several occurrences, you
“ must always make use of these things as they ap-
“ pear to be to your advantage. ~~✕~~ And take my in-
“ struction, child ! said he, likewise, in these things,
“ and which are of the greatest importance. Never
“ engage either yourself or the army in any thing
“ contrary to the sacrifices and auguries ; reflecting
“ how men have chosen to engage in certain actions,
“ at hazard, and without knowing at all, on which
“ side of the choice they should meet with their ad-
“ vantage. This you may be convinced of by things
“ that

“ that oft happen ; there are many instances of men,
“ and they such as have been thought the wisest,
“ who have persuaded some to begin a war against
“ others, who have destroyed those that have been
“ persuaded to be the aggressors : There are instances
“ of many, who have raised both cities and private
“ men, and have suffered the greatest misfortunes
“ at the hand of those they had so raised : There
“ are instances of many, who, when they might
“ have used others as their friends in a mutual in-
“ tercourse of good offices, and who choosing to
“ hold them rather as slaves than as friends, have
“ met with revenge and punishment at their hands.
“ Many, who, not liking to live contentedly possess-
“ ing a part, and affecting to be lords of all, have
“ by this means lost what was their own. And
“ many, who have acquired the much wished-for
“ metal, gold, have been destroyed by it.—So hu-
“ man wisdom knows no more how to choose the
“ best, than one who should determine to act as
“ chance and the lot should decide. The *Gods!*
“ child ! who are eternal, know all things that have
“ been, all things that are, and all that shall happen
“ in consequence of every thing. And when men
“ consult them they signify to those, that they
“ are propitious to, what they ought to do, and
“ what not. And if they will not give advice to all,
“ it is no ways wonderful ; for they are not under any
“ necessity to take care of those, of whom they are
“ not willing to take care.”



CYROPÆDIA:
OR, THE
INSTITUTION
OF
CURUS.

By XENOPHON.

BOOK II.

DISCOURSING in this manner they arrived at the borders of *Persia*; when an eagle, appearing to the right, led the way before them. And when they had made their supplications to the gods, and heroes, guardians of *Persia*, to dismiss them favourably and propitiously, they passed the borders. When they had passed them, they again made supplication to the gods, guardians of *Media*, to receive them propitiously and favourably; and having done this, and embraced each other as usual, the father returned into *Persia*, and *Cyrus* marched on into *Media* to *Cyaxares*.

WHEN *Cyrus* came to *Cyaxares* in *Media*, they first embraced each other, as usual, and *Cyaxares* afterwards

wards asked *Cyrus*, “What force he was to bring
 “him?” He replied, “Thirty thousand of such as
 “have been before with you, and served for their
 “pay: But there are others coming, who have never
 “yet served out of their own country, and are of
 “the order of those that are free, and equally enti-
 “tled to all honours.” “And how many of these?”
 said *Cyaxares*. “The number of them, replied *Cy-*
rus, will not please you, when you hear it: But
 “consider, said he, that those who are called the
 “alike-honoured, though but few, rule with ease the
 “rest of the *Persians*, who are very numerous. But
 “said he, are you in any real want of these men; or
 “are you under a vain alarm, and the enemy not
 “coming?” “Indeed they are, said he, and in great
 “numbers.” “How does this appear?” “Why,
 “a great many people who come from thence, some
 “by one means and some by another, all say the
 “same thing: Then engage with these men we must.
 “We must of necessity,” said he.—“Well then, said
Cyrus, “why do not you tell me whether you know
 “what these forces are that are coming upon us, and
 “what we have of our own; that being apprized of
 “both, we may afterwards consult how to carry on
 “the war in the best manner?” “Attend, then,”
 said *Cyaxares*;—“*Cræsus* the *Lydian* is said to bring
 “with him 10,000 horse, targeteers and archers
 “upwards of 40,000. They say that *Arsamas*, who
 “governs the *Greater Phrygia*, brings 8000 horse;
 “targeteers and lance-men not less than 40,000.
 “That

“ That *Aribæus*, king of the *Cappadocian*, brings 6000
“ horse ; archers and targeteers not less than 30,000.
“ The *Arabian Maragdus* 10,000 horse, 100 cha-
“ riots, and of flingers a very considerable body.
“ As to the *Greeks* that are settled in *Asia*, there is
“ nothing said of certain whether they attend the ex-
“ pedition or not. They say that *Gabæus*, who rules
“ those that inhabit the country that extends from
“ *Phrygia* on the *Hellepont* to the plain of *Cayster*,
“ contributes 6000 horse, and 10,000 targeteers,
“ The *Carians*, *Cilicians*, and *Paphlagonians*, though
“ invited, they say, do not attend the expedition. The
“ *Assyrian*, who possesses *Babylon* and the rest of *As-*
“ *syria*, will, as I judge, bring no less than 20,000
“ horse ; chariots, as I know very well, not more
“ than 200 ; but I believe a vast body of foot ; for so
“ he is accustomed to do when he falls in upon us.”—
“ The enemy then, said *Cyrus*, you say, amount to
“ 60,000 horse, and to more than 200,000 tar-
“ geteers and archers.—To proceed then, What do
“ you say is the number of your own forces ?”—
“ The *Median* horse are above 10,000 ; and of tar-
“ geteers and archers there may be perhaps in our
“ own territories about 60,000 ; and of the *Arme-*
“ *nians*, our neighbours, we shall have 4000 horse
“ and 20,000 foot.”—“ You say then, said *Cyrus*,
“ that we shall have in horse less than a third part of
“ the enemy’s force of that sort, and scarce half the
“ number of their foot.” “ What ! said *Cyaxares*,
“ do you think those *Persians*, that you say you bring,

“are but an inconsiderable number.” “We will
“take another time, said *Cyrus*, to consider whether
“we want men or no.—At present, pray tell me
“what is the method of fight that is in use with
“those several people.” “They almost all, said *Cy-*
“*axares*, use the same. Some of their men, as well
“as of our own, use the bow, and others the jav-
“lin.” “Then, said *Cyrus*, since such are their
“arms, they must necessarily engage at a distance.”
“Necessarily,” said *Cyaxares*. “In this case, there-
“fore, said *Cyrus*, the victory falls to the greater
“number: For the few wounded by those weapons
“are much sooner destroyed by the many, than the
“many by the few.” “If it be so, *Cyrus*, said he,
“what way can one find better than to send to the
“*Persians*, and acquaint them that if the *Medes* sustain
“any loss the misfortune will reach to themselves,
“and at the same time to require from them a great-
“er force?” “Be assured, said *Cyrus*, that if all the
“*Persians* should come, we should not exceed
“the enemy in numbers.” “What have you in
“view then that is better?” “Why, said *Cyrus*,
“If I were you, I would immediately make, for
“all the *Persians* that are coming, such arms as
“those men, that are called the alike-honoured, come
“provided with; and these are, a corselet about the
“breast, a shield for the left hand, and a sword, or cut-
“lass, for the right. If you provide these arms,
“you will make it the safest way for us to come
“to close fight with the enemy; and better for the
“enemy

“ enemy to fly than to stand their ground. For our
“ own station, said he, we appoint against those that
“ stand their ground ; and those that fly we allot to
“ you and to your horse, that they may not have
“ time to make their escape, or to turn again.” Thus
Cyrus spoke. — *Cyaxares* was of opinion that he said
very right, and he thought no longer of sending for
more men, but applied himself to the providing of
the arms before-mentioned. And they were scarce
got ready, before the *Persian* gentlemen, or the alike-
honoured, arrived, bringing the *Persian* army with
them.

UPON this, *Cyrus* is said to have called the gentle-
men together, and to have spoke to them thus :
“ Friends ! I who saw, that your persons were arm-
“ ed, and your minds prepared for close fight with
“ your enemy, and knew that the *Persians* who at-
“ tend you were armed in such manner as to engage
“ only at a distance, was afraid that, being but few
“ in number, and destitute of others to support you,
“ when you fell in with the great number of your
“ enemy, you might come by some misfortune. Now
“ therefore, said he, that you are come, and bring
“ with you men whose bodies are not contemptible,
“ and who are to be supplied with arms like your
“ own ; to raise their minds is now your part. For
“ it is the business of a commander not only to be
“ himself brave, but to take such care of those that
“ he rules, that they may be made as brave as possi-
“ ble.” — Thus he said.

THEY were all much pleased, imagining they should now engage the enemy with more to assist and support them. And one of them spoke to this effect: “Perhaps, said he, I shall be thought to talk
“strangely if I advise *Cyrus*, instead of *Us*, to say
“something to these men, who are to be our sup-
“ports and fellow-combatants, when they receive
“their arms. For I know, said he, that the words
“of those who have the most power to do service
“or to do hurt, sink deeper into the minds of the
“hearers: And the presents that such men make,
“though they happen to be less than what men may
“receive from others like themselves, yet the receivers value them more. So now, said he, the *Per-*
“*sians* will be much more pleased if they receive an
“exhortation from *Cyrus*, than if they receive it
“from us. And when they are placed in the de-
“gree of the alike-honoured, they will think them-
“selves more strongly confirmed in it, if done by the
“son of our king, and by our commander in chief,
“than if they are introduced to it by us. Nor ought
“our endeavours to be wanting; but we should use
“all possible means to excite and raise the courage of
“these men; for how much soever they become bra-
“ver and better men, it will be so much the more
“to our advantage.”

So *Cyrus* setting down the arms in a place exposed to view, and calling together all the *Persian* foldiers, spoke to this effect: “Men of *Persia*! You were
“born and bred in the same country that we were;
“you

“ you have bodies that are no ways inferior to ours,
“ and you ought to have souls too not inferior to
“ ours. And yet, though such you are in yourselves,
“ in our own country you were not upon an equal
“ foot with us. Not that you were excluded from it
“ by us, but by the necessity you were under of pro-
“ viding yourselves with necessaries. Now, with the
“ help of the gods ! it shall be my care that you shall
“ be supplied with these. And even though you may
“ be in any sort inferior to us, yet, by accepting these
“ arms, that are such as we have our selves, it is in your
“ power, if you will, to run the same hazard with
“ us ; and if any thing great and advantageous hap-
“ pen to us upon it, to be thought worthy of like
“ advantages with ourselves. Heretofore you have
“ used the bow and the javelin ; we have done the same.
“ And if you are inferior to us in the practice of
“ these, it is not at all wonderful ; for you have not had
“ the leisure that we have had, to exercise yourselves
“ in them. But in this sort of arms, we have no ad-
“ vantage above you ; for every one will have a
“ corselet, fitted to his breast, for the left-hand a
“ shield, which you are all accustomed to wear ; and
“ for the right, a sword, or cutlass, which you are
“ to use against the enemy ; not needing to be mind-
“ ful of any thing but how not to miss your blow.
“ Under these arms, therefore, what difference can
“ there be between one and another amongst us, un-
“ less it be in boldness, in which you ought not to

“ be inferior to us ? How should it be our part more
“ than yours to be desirous of victory, by which all
“ things great and advantageous are acquired and
“ preserved ? How can superiority of arms be less
“ necessary to you than to us, when it is by this,
“ that all that the conquered possess becomes yielded
“ to the victors ?”— In conclusion he said : “ You
“ have heard all these things ; you all of you see
“ your arms ; he that thinks fit, let him take them,
“ and lift himself under his officer, into the same or-
“ der and degree with us. He that thinks it enough
“ for him to be in the station of a mercenary, let
“ him continue under servile arms.” Thus he said.—
The *Persians* who heard him, were of opinion, that
if, when they were invited to an equal share of all
advantages, by sharing in like labours, they should
not agree to it, they should then justly pass all their
days in a mean and low condition : So they were all
lifted, and all took the arms.

DURING the time that the enemy was said to be ap-
proaching, but did not actually come, *Cyrus* endea-
voured to exercise the bodies of his men, in order to
give them strength and vigour ; to teach them how
to form themselves and to move in proper order ;
and to raise their minds to warlike affairs. And in
the first place, being supplied with servants by *Cya-
xares*, he ordered them to supply all the soldiers with
every thing ready made that they wanted. And hav-
ing provided for this, he left them nothing to do but
to practise such things as related to war, seeming to
have

have learned this maxim, That those men were best at any thing, who, taking off their minds from application to many things, apply themselves to one business singly. And of affairs that relate to war, cutting them off from the practice of the bow and javelin, he left them only this one thing to do ; which was, to fight with sword, shield, and corselet. So that he presently brought their minds to this state, that they found they were either to engage their enemy hand to hand ; or to confess, that they were very worthless supports and fellow-combatants. And this was a difficult thing to be owned, by such as knew they were maintained for nothing else but to fight for those that maintained them. Besides, having considered that whatever the things are, wherein men are raised to an emulation one against another, those are the things they are most willing to exercise themselves in ; he appointed them to contend and vie with each other in all those kinds of things that he knew were fit to be exercised and practised by the soldiers.

THE things he so appointed were these. To the private man, to make himself a good soldier, obedient to his commanders ; ready to undergo labour ; to be enterprizing in dangers, but consistently with good order ; to be skilful in the military exercises ; fond of having his arms beautiful and in good condition ; and in all such matters desirous of praise. To the leader of five, to make himself such as it became the private man to be ; and to do his utmost to make his five likewise such. To the leader of ten,
to

make his ten such. To the captain to do the same for his company: The colonel for his regiment: And in the same manner, to the rest of the commanding officers, to render themselves unexceptionable and blameless; and to take care that those who were under their command should, in their several stations, make those under them ready to do their duties.—The rewards he proposed in this contention were these: To the colonels, who, by their care, appeared to have made themselves the best regiments, to be made commanders of a thousand; To the captains, who appeared to have made themselves the best companies, to be made colonels; To the leaders of ten, that approved themselves the best, to be advanced to the degree of captains; And to the leaders of five, in like manner to be advanced to the degree of leaders of ten: And to the private men, that behaved best, to be advanced to the degree of leaders of five. In the first place, therefore, all these officers were well served by those they commanded, and then all the other honours, suitable to every one, attended them. He likewise gave greater hopes to those who deserved praise, in case any more than ordinary advantage should upon occasion fall in their way. He proposed also certain rewards of victory, to whole regiments and companies. So likewise to whole tens and fives, if they appeared to be the most obedient to their commanders, and to perform the things before mentioned with the greatest ardour and readiness: And the rewards to these were such as were
the

the most proper to be bestowed in common upon a number of men. These were the things that were proposed to the army and exercised amongst them.

TENTS he likewise provided for them, as many in number as were the colonels; and of a size such as was sufficient for each regiment; and a regiment consisted of a hundred men. Thus they were quartered in tents by regiments. And it seemed to him to be of use to his men, in the war that was coming on, that by thus inhabiting together, they saw each other maintained alike; and there was no pretence of lying under a disadvantage, so as to allow any one to be remiss, or one be worse than another, in acting against the enemy. It seemed to him likewise, that this joint habitation was of use to them with respect to their knowing one another: For by being known, he thought that a sense of shame and reproach took more place upon all: For they who are unknown seem to act with less caution and restraint, as men do who are in the dark. And this cohabitation seemed to him to be of great service to his men with respect to exactness in their orders: For thus the colonels had their several regiments in order under them in their sleep, just as when a regiment is in a body upon the march; So the captains their companies; The commanders of tens their tens; And the commanders of five their five: And this exactness in their orders seemed to him to be of great service, both to prevent their being put into disorder; and if disordered, to settle themselves more readily

readily into order again. Just as in the case of stones and pieces of wood that are to be fitted together; which, if they have certain marks to make it evident to what place each of them belongs, one may with ease fit together again, into whatever irregular form they may have been thrown. And their being thus maintained together, he thought was of service to them, in order to make them less ready to desert each other; Because he observed, that beasts that had their maintenance together, were in great pain if separated by any one.

CYRUS also took care that they should never go to their dinner or supper without a sweat: For he either led them out to hunt, and gave them a sweat that way, or he contrived such sports for them as would put them into one; or if any business happened that was to be done, he so managed it, that they should not return without sweating: For this he judged to be of service in order to make them eat with pleasure, to make them healthy, and to make them able to undergo labour: And labour he judged to be of use in making them more gentle one towards another; because even horses that labour jointly together, stand likewise more gently and tamely together. And they who are conscious to themselves of being duly exercised, are inspired with more bravery and courage against the enemy.

CYRUS likewise provided himself with a tent sufficient to contain those that he invited to sup with him: He invited for the most part such of the colonels

nels as he thought proper : But he sometimes invited some of the captains, some of the commanders of ten, and some of the commanders of five ; sometimes some of the foldiers, and sometimes a whole five, a whole ten, a whole company, or a whole regiment together. He invited likewise and rewarded those that he saw practise any such thing as he desired all the others should imitate. And the things that were set before himself, and before those that he invited to supper, were always alike. He always made the servants of the army likewise equal sharers in all things ; for he thought it was not less becoming him to reward those who served in the concerns of the army, than to reward heralds and ambassadors : For he was of opinion that they ought to be faithful, skilled in military affairs, and intelligent, as well as zealous in their business, quick of dispatch, diligent, and orderly : Besides, whatever good quality they had who were accounted the better sort, that *Cyrus* thought the servants ought to be possessed of ; and that it was their duty to bring themselves by practice to refuse no work, but to think it becoming them to do all things whatever that their commanders should enjoin.

AND *Cyrus* always took care that while he entertained any of them in his tent, the most agreeable subjects of discourse, and such as might excite them to good, should be thrown in amongst them. Upon a certain occasion therefore he began this discourse :
“ Friends ! said he, are other men, think you, any
“ ways

“ways inferior to us, by reason of their not being
“disciplined in the same manner as we are? or will
“they prove not to differ from us at all, either in
“their converse with each other, or in action against
“the enemy?”—*Hystaspes*, in answer to him, said:
“What they may prove to be in action against the
“enemy, I do not yet know; but, by the gods!
“some of them seem already to be very perverse and
“churlish in their conversation. For yesterday, said
“he, *Cyaxares* sent certain victims to every regi-
“ment; and we had every one of us three portions,
“or more, that were carried and distributed around.
“Our cook began his first distribution by me, when
“the person who was to make the second distribution
“entered; I bid him begin with the last man, and
“carry round the contrary way. One, therefore, from
“the middle of the circle of the soldiers, as they lay,
“cried out, By *Jove*! said he, there is no manner
“of equality or fairness in this, unless some body
“begin from us here in the middle: I hearing this,
“was uneasy that any of them should think they lay
“under a disadvantage; and I presently bid him
“come to me; in this he in a very orderly manner
“obeyed me; but when the portions that were
“distributing came to us who were to take last, they
“were the least that were left; he then plainly dis-
“covered himself to be very much afflicted, and said
“to himself, O ill fortune! that I should happen to
“be called hither! I then said to him, do not be dis-
“turbed; it will begin presently by us, and you
“shall

“ shall take first the biggest portion : at the third
“ going about, which was the last turn, he took the
“ next after me ; but as soon as the third person had
“ taken, he fancied that this man had taken a larger
“ portion than himself, and he threw back that, that he
“ had taken, intending to take another ; but the cook,
“ thinking that he wanted no more meat, moved on,
“ distributing around, before he took another por-
“ tion : here he bore so ill the misfortune of losing
“ the portion he had taken, that being struck and in
“ wrath at his ill fortune, he misplaced and overturn-
“ ed some sauce he had remaining : a captain, who
“ was the nearest us, seeing this, clapped his hands,
“ and laughed out, much delighted ; I, said *Hystaspes*,
“ made as if I coughed ; for I was not able to hold
“ from laughing.—*Cyrus*, said he, such a one do I
“ shew you one of our companions to be.”—Upon
this, as was natural, they laughed.

ANOTHER of the colonels then spoke : “ *Cyrus*,
“ said he, this *Hystaspes*, it seems, has met with one
“ of a very perverse temper : but as you instruct us
“ in the order and discipline we were to observe, and
“ dismissed us with commands to instruct every one
“ his regiment in the things he had learned from
“ you, so I, as others did, came to a certain com-
“ pany, and was teaching them ; and placing the
“ captain first, and then a young man in order after
“ him, and so the rest, as I thought proper ; and
“ then standing before them, and looking upon the
“ company ; when I thought it the proper time, I
“ gave

“gave the command to advance; this young man,
“advancing before the captain, marched first; I,
“seeing him do thus, said to him; Friend, what are
“you doing? The man said, Why I advance as you
“command me. But, said I, I did not command
“only you to advance, but all; then turning to his
“companions, Do not you hear, said he, that the
“colonel commands you all to advance? Then all
“of them, passing the captain by, came up to me; but
“when the captain made them retire back again, they
“were offended, and said, Whom are we to obey?
“for now one bids us to advance, and another will
“not suffer us to do it: Bearing all this contentedly,
“and placing them as at first, I told them, that none
“of those behind should move till he that was before
“him led the way, but that they should all mind
“only to follow their leading-man. In the mean
“time, there came to me a certain person that was
“going to *Persia*, and he bid me give him the letter
“I had wrote home; now the captain knew where the
“letter lay; I bid him therefore run and fetch this let-
“ter he ran his way; the young man, armed as he was
“with corselet and sword, followed after his captain;
“the rest of his company seeing him run, ran off
“with him; and all of them came back again, and
“brought me the letter. — Thus, said he, is this
“company of mine mighty exact in executing all the
“instructions they receive from you.” — The rest, as
“was natural, laughed at this guard and attendance
“upon the letter. But *Cyrus* said, “O *Jove*, and all
“you

“you gods! What men have we for our compa-
“nions! They are so easily served, that many of
“them might be made one’s friends for a little
“portion of meat! And they are so obedient, that
“they obey before they understand what they are
“ordered to do! For my part, I do not know
“what sort of men we should wish the soldiers to
“be, unless it be just such.” And *Cyrus* thus in
“laughing praised the soldiers.

THERE happened at that time to be in the tent
a certain colonel; his name was *Aglaitadas*, a churl-
ish and austere sort of man in his manners; and he
spoke thus: “Do you think now, *Cyrus*, said he,
“that these men tell you the truth?” “Why,
“what end, said *Cyrus*, have they in lying?”
“What else, said he, but to make you laugh; and
“for this reason they tell you these stories in a vain
“arrogant way.” “Good words! pray! said *Cyrus*;
“Do not say that they are vain and arrogant! For
“the word *arrogant* seems to me to lie upon such
“as feign themselves richer or braver than they
“really are; and pretend to do what they are not
“able to do; and that plainly act thus in order to
“get something, and make profit to themselves;
“they that move their companions to laughter,
“and do it, neither for their own gain, nor to the
“hearers prejudice, nor with intent to do any man-
“ner of harm, why may not such be called polite
“and agreeable, much rather than arrogant?” —
Thus did *Cyrus* apologize for such as afforded
G matter

matter of laughter. — The colonel then, who had told the pleasant story of the company of soldiers, said, “ If we endeavoured, *Aglaitadas* ! to make you cry, would not you blame us very much ? As there are some who in songs and discourses uttering certain melancholy notes and things, endeavour to move people by tears ; but now, though you yourself know that we are desirous to give you pleasure, and not in the least to hurt you, yet you hold us thus in great disgrace.” “ By *Jove*, said *Aglaitadas*, I do, and justly ; because, in my opinion, he that makes his friends laugh does a more worthless and insignificant thing than he who makes him cry : and you will find, if you reckon right, that I say true : fathers bring their sons to a discreet and modest temper of mind, and teachers their youth to all good learning, by tears ; and it is by affliction and tears that the laws influence citizens to justice in their conduct : but can you possibly say, that your movers of laughter either do any service to the bodies of men, or form their minds to a better sense of their duty, with respect to their private families, or to the publick ? ” — Upon this, *Hystaspes* spoke in this manner : “ *Aglaitadas* ! said he, if you will follow my advice, you shall boldly lay out this very valuable thing upon our enemies ; and you shall endeavour to set them a crying ; but that worthless thing, laughter, you shall spend upon us, said he, here amongst your friends. I know

“ you

“ you have a great deal of it that lies by you in
“ store ; for you neither use nor spend it yourself ;
“ nor do you willingly afford laughter either to your
“ friends, or to strangers : so that you have no
“ manner of pretence to refuse bestowing it upon
“ us.” “ Then, said *Aglaitadas*, Do you endeavour
“ to get it out of me ? ” And the leader of the
company said, “ By *Jove* ! then he is a fool indeed ;
“ for I believe one may strike fire out of you more
“ easily than draw laughter from you.” — At this
the others laughed, knowing the temper of the
man ; and *Aglaitadas* himself smiled at it : *Cyrus*
seeing him pleased, said, “ Indeed, captain ! you are
“ in the wrong to corrupt the most serious man we
“ have, by tempting him to laugh ; and to do this,
“ said he, to one who is so great an enemy to laugh-
“ ter ! ” — Here ended this subject of discourse.

AFTER this, *Chrysfantas* spoke thus : “ But, *Cyrus* !
“ said he, I, and all that are here present, consider,
“ that there are come hither with us, men, who have
“ some of them more merit, and some less ; and if
“ any advantage fall in our way, they will all think
“ themselves entitled to an equal share of it : but,
“ for my part, I do not think that any thing can
“ be more unequal amongst men, than that the
“ good and the bad should be entitled to equal ad-
“ vantages.” *Cyrus* to this said : “ By the gods !
“ then, friends ! it were best for us to give this out,
“ and propose it to be debated in the army, whe-
“ ther they think it proper, if, in consequence of

“ our labours God give us any advantage, that all
 “ should share alike in it? Or that, examining the
 “ actions of every one, we shall give to each, re-
 “ wards proportionable?” “ But why, said *Chry-*
 “ *santas*, should you give this out to be discoursed
 “ upon, and not declare that you will have it so?
 “ Did not you declare, said he, What the soldiers
 “ should contend and vie with each other in? and
 “ what the rewards of the contention should be?”
 “ But, by *Jove*! said *Cyrus*, these matters and those
 “ are not alike; for what they shall acquire by their
 “ service, that, I believe, they will reckon common
 “ to them all; but the command of the army they
 “ take to be mine even from the first setting out;
 “ so that in appointing officers, I believe, they
 “ think I do them no wrong.” “ And do you
 “ think, said *Chrysantas*, that the multitude assem-
 “ bled will ever decree that every one shall not have
 “ his equal share; but that the best shall have the
 “ advantage, in profits and honours?” I do think it,
 “ said *Cyrus*, partly, because of your assistance in it;
 “ and partly, because it is infamous to assert, that
 “ he who labours most for the publick, and does it
 “ most service, is not entitled to the greatest re-
 “ wards: and I believe, that the very worst of our
 “ men will think it of service to them, that the best
 “ should have the advantage.”

CYRUS had a mind that this should be publickly
 decreed, even upon the account of the alike-honoured;
 for he thought that they would be yet better men,

if they knew that they themselves were to be judged by their actions, and rewarded accordingly. This, therefore, seemed to him to be the proper opportunity to put it to the vote, whilst the alike-honoured were dissatisfied with the claim of the multitude to equality of shares. So it was the current opinion of those in the tent to give out the discourse upon the subject; and they said that every one who thought it his part to act like a man, ought to give his assistance in it. Upon this, one of the Colonels laughed, and said, “I know, said he, a man, one of the common
“people, who will help to justify this opinion, that
“this equality of shares, without distinction, ought
“not to be.” Another asked him, whom he meant? He replied, “Truly, he is one of my own tent,
“and is upon every occasion seeking to get the
“advantage and upper-hand of others.” Another then asked, “And does he seek it in labour and
“taking pains? No, by *Jove*! said he, not in that;
“but here you have caught me in a lye, for with
“respect to labour and things of that kind, he al-
“ways contentedly allows any one to get the upper-
“hand of him that will.”

“FRIENDS! said *Cyrus*, my judgment is, that such
“men as this person speaks of, ought to be weeded
“out of the army, if we intend to preserve it in its
“virtue and vigour, and to render the soldiers
“obedient: For the soldiers seem to me to be such
“as will follow where any one shall lead them the
“way: Good and excellent men certainly endeavour

“to lead to things good and excellent; vicious
“men to things vicious; and corrupt men have often
“more abettors, than the sober and industrious.
“For vice, that takes its course through present
“pleasures, has these pleasures to assist in perswading
“the multitude to abet her; but virtue that moves
“upwards, has not strength enough in present oc-
“casions to draw men without distinction after
“her; especially if there are others,, in opposition to
“her, that exhort men to follow the prone and easy
“tract. They therefore who are faulty upon the
“account of sloth and indolence; these I reckon,
“like drones, are burthensome to their companions
“only by the expence of maintaining them; but
“active associates in vice, who prosecute their
“interest with industry and impudence, these are the
“leaders of men to vicious courses; for they often
“have it in their power to shew them that vice
“will be serviceable to their interest: So that such
“men must entirely be weeded out. Then pray!
“do not consider how to recruit your regiments
“with your own countrymen; but, as in horses,
“you look for those that are best, and not for those
“that are of your own country; so of men, take
“such as you think will most contribute to your
“strength and good order. And that it will be
“to our advantage to do so, this will bear me testi-
“mony: that neither is a chariot swift, if it have but
“slow horses; nor is it true, if joined to vicious and
“unmanagable ones; nor can a family be well re-
“gulated

“gulated that uses vicious servants ; but a family that
“wants servants, is less injured than one that is
“confounded by unjust ones. And be it known to
“you, friends! that the turning out of the vicious,
“will not only be of advantage to you in their being out
“of the way ; but of those that remain, they who have
“had vice instilled into them, will discharge themselves
“of it again ; and the good seeing the vicious pu-
“nished, will adhere to virtue with much more
“warmth and zeal.”—Thus he said.—All his friends
were of opinion with him, and did accordingly.

AFTER this, *Cyrus* began again to set jest and merriment on foot ; for observing that one of the captains had brought with him a fellow-guest, and had placed him next to himself ; that the man was excessively rough and hairy, and very ugly ; he called the captain by his name, and spoke thus :
“*Sambaulas* !—said he, that young man that lies next
“to you, do you carry him about with you, ac-
“cording to the *Greek* custom, because he is hand-
“some ?” “No, by *Jove* ! said *Sambaulas* ! but
“I am pleased with his conversation, and even with
“looking at him.”—They that were present in the tent, upon hearing this, looked at the man, and when they saw that his face was excessive ugly, they all laughed ; and one of them said, “In the name
“of all the gods ! *Sambaulas* ! by what piece of ser-
“vice has this man so tied himself to you ?” He said,
“By *Jove* ! friends, I will tell you, whenever I
“have called upon him, either by night or by day,

“ he never pretended want of leifure, never obeyed
 “ lazily, but always ran to his bufinefs with the utmoft
 “ difpatch: as often as I have ordered him to do a
 “ thing, I never faw him execute it without putting
 “ himfelf into a fweat; and he has made the whole
 “ *twelve* fuch as himfelf, not fhewing them in word,
 “ but in action, what they ought to be.” Then
 fomebody faid, “ Since he is fuch an extraordinary
 “ man, do not you kifs him as you do relations?”
 And to this the homely perfon replied, “ No, by
 “ *Jove!* faid he, for he is not one of thofe that are
 “ fond of labour and pains; and to kifs me would be
 “ asmuch to him, as if he underwent the greateft toil.”

SUCH kind of difcourfes and things, both merry
 and ferious, paffed amongft them in the tent. And
 having at laft performed the third libation, and
 made their prayers to the gods for their bleffings,
 they broke up their company in the tent, in order to
 go to reft.

THE next day, *Cyrus* affembled all the foldiers,
 and fpoke to them to this effect: “ Friends! the con-
 “ flict is at hand! for the enemies are approaching:
 “ The rewards of our victory, if we conquer, it is
 “ evident, are our enemies themfelves, and their for-
 “ tunes. On the other hand, if we are conquered,
 “ (for this ought always to be mentioned,) thus like-
 “ wife do the fortunes of the conquered ftand ex-
 “ pofed as the rewards of the conquerors. There-
 “ fore thus, (faid he,) you ought to determine with
 “ yourfelves, that when men are united as affiliates

“ in

“ in war, if every one within himself makes account,
“ that nothing will be as it ought to be, unless every
“ one be inspired with zeal and ardour, they then
“ presently perform things great and noble; for no-
“ thing of what is proper to be done is in this case
“ neglected. But when every one imagines that ano-
“ ther is to fight and act, though he himself play the
“ drone, be it known to you, (said he,) that with
“ such, the success of things will be unhappy to
“ them all. God himself has so established it; to
“ those who will not impose upon themselves the task
“ of labouring for their own advantage, he gives
“ other task-masters. Now therefore, (said he,) let
“ some one stand up and speak to this point; whe-
“ ther he think that virtue will be the better prac-
“ tised amongst us, if he who chooses to undergo the
“ greatest toil and run the greatest hazards obtain
“ the greatest rewards? or if we all see that the
“ worthless man lies under no disadvantage, but that
“ all of us are to share alike?”

HERE *Chryfantas*, one of the alike-honoured, one who was neither tall in his person, nor whose looks bespoke either courage or spirit, but a man of excellent understanding, rose up and spoke thus: “ In
“ truth, *Cyrus*, (says he,) my opinion is, that you do
“ not propose this to our debate, as judging it fit
“ that the worthless should stand upon a foot of
“ equal advantage with the deserving; but to try
“ whether there be such a man amongst us that will
“ venture to discover himself to be of opinion, that
“ he

“ he who performs nothing that’s great and noble,
 “ should share equally of those advantages that are
 “ gained by the virtue and bravery of others. I
 “ am (said he) neither swift of foot, nor have I great
 “ strength and vigour in my hands and arms; and
 “ by what I can perform with my person I reckon I
 “ cannot be judged to be the first man, nor yet
 “ the second, I believe not the thousandth, perhaps
 “ not the ten thousandth; but this I very well know,
 “ that if they who are men of strength set their
 “ hands vigorously to the work, I shall have my
 “ share in some advantage or other, and as much as
 “ is justly due to me; but if mean and worthless
 “ men shall do nothing, and men of bravery and
 “ vigour shall be quite out of heart, I am afraid I
 “ shall have my share in something else rather than
 “ advantage, and such a share as will be greater than
 “ I desire.” Thus spoke *Chryfantas*.

AFTER him rose *Pheraulas*, a *Persian*, one of the
 common people; a man intimately known to *Cyrus*,
 and much in his favour whilst they were yet in *Persia*;
 one whose person was not uncomely, and who, with
 respect to his mind, was not like one of the mean
 and ignoble; and he spoke to this effect: “ I, *Cyrus*,
 (said he,) “ and all the *Persians* here present, reckon
 “ ourselves now entered in the lists of virtue, and
 “ setting forward in its career upon an equal foot:
 “ for I see that our bodies are all exercised alike, and
 “ nourished with like food; that like company and
 “ conversation is vouchsafed to us all; and that the
 “ same

“ same honourable actions lie before us ; for obedi-
“ ence to our commanders lies before us in com-
“ mon, and whoever is found sincerely to practise it,
“ that man, I see, obtains rewards and honours at
“ the hands of *Cyrus* : then to act with bravery
“ against the enemy is not a thing that is becoming
“ to one, and is otherwise to another, but stands re-
“ commended as great and noble to us all ; and I
“ take upon me to say, that our method of fight
“ is now plainly taught us. I see that all men natu-
“ rally know it, as every other animal naturally
“ knows a certain method of fight, and this without
“ learning it from any other than from nature ; as
“ the bull attacks with his horn, the horse with his
“ hoof, the dog with his mouth, the boar with his
“ tooth ; and all of them know, (said he,) by what
“ means best to defend themselves against the attack
“ of others ; and these things proceed not from the
“ instruction of any master in these arts. I under-
“ stood presently from a child, how to interpose
“ something between myself and the person who of-
“ fered to strike me ; and if I had nothing else, I en-
“ deavoured, as well as I was able, by holding up my
“ hands, to hinder and oppose the person that as-
“ faulted me ; and this I did not only without being
“ taught it, but even though I were beaten for de-
“ fending myself. When I was a child, wherever I
“ saw a sword, I presently seized it ; nor was I taught
“ how to handle it by any one, but, as I say, by na-
“ ture : this therefore I did, not only untaught, but
“ even

“ even crossed and hindered in it, as there are many
“ other things that I have been necessarily prompted
“ by nature to do, though controuled and checked in
“ them both by my father and mother. Then, by
“ *Jove!* with this sword I hacked and hewed what-
“ ever came in my way, when I could do it privately,
“ and unseen; for it was not only natural to me,
“ like walking and running, but besides its being na-
“ tural, I thought it a pleasure to do it. Since there-
“ fore, (said he,) that fighting is the thing now left us
“ to do, and that it is a work that requires courage
“ rather than art, how can it be other than a pleasure
“ to us to enter the lists with these noble persons the
“ alike-honoured? When the rewards of virtue lie
“ equally before us, and we of the people do not run
“ an equal risque? They have at stake a life of ho-
“ nour, which is the most agreeable, and the only one
“ that can be called a life; we only a laborious and
“ ignoble one, which, in my opinion, is but painful
“ and unhappy. Then this, friends! greatly ani-
“ mates me to enter the lists against these men, that
“ *Cyrus* is to be our judge; he who judges not parti-
“ ally and invidiously; but I aver, and swear it by
“ the gods, that I think *Cyrus* loves those that he finds
“ to be deserving, not less than he does himself;
“ accordingly I observe that he bestows what he has,
“ upon such men, with more pleasure than he takes
“ in his own possession of it. Besides, (said he,)
“ these men are greatly elevated with their having
“ been disciplined to bear hunger, thirst, and cold,
“ not

“ not knowing that we have been disciplined in the
“ same things, under a much abler teacher than they
“ have been ; for there is none a more effectual
“ teacher of these things than necessity, that has
“ taught them us in the compleatest manner.
“ These men have exercised themselves in the labour
“ of bearing arms, that have been so contrived by all
“ men, as to be worn with the greatest ease : but we,
(said he,) “ have been obliged, by necessity, to walk
“ and run under heavy burthens, so that the arms we
“ now bear, seem to me not to be like burthens, but
“ rather like wings. So count upon me, said he,
“ *Cyrus* ! as one that will engage in this dispute, and
“ who desire, whatever degree I am in, to be rewarded
“ according to my desert. And I exhort you, my
“ friends of the people, to embark in this military
“ contention against these men of discipline, for they
“ are now drawn in, and caught in this popular dis-
“ pute.” — So spoke *Pheraulas* ; and many others
stood up to support them both in their opinion. It
was thought fit, therefore, that every one should be
rewarded according to his desert, and that *Cyrus* should
be the judge.

Thus did these things proceed ; and *Cyrus* took
an occasion to invite an entire regiment, together
with their colonel, to sup with him. This he did
upon having seen the man forming half the men of
his regiment against the other half, in order to attack
each other ; they had all of them their corselets on,
and in their left hands their shields ; but to one
half

half he had given good large sticks for their right hands, and the others he had ordered to gather clods to throw. When they stood thus ready prepared, he gave them the signal to engage: Then these fell on with their clods; some chanced to fall upon the corselets of the opposite party, some upon their shields, some hit a thigh, some a leg; but when they came to close, they who had the sticks applied their blows upon the thighs, hands, and legs of their adversaries, as well as upon the necks and backs of such as stooped for their clods; and at last, they that were armed with the sticks put the others to the rout, laying them on with much laughter and diversion. Then the others, in their turn, taking the sticks, did the same thing to those, who took their turn in throwing the clods. *Cyrus* was much taken with these things, both with the contrivance of the officer, the obedience of the men, that they were at the same time both exercised and diverted, and that those men gained the victory who were armed in the manner that resembled the *Persians*. Being pleased with these things, he invited them to supper, and observing some of them with their shins bound up, and some with their hands in the same condition, he asked them what harm they had got? They said, "They had been struck with the clods." He then asked them again, "Whether it was when
" they were close together, or while they were at a
" distance?" They said, "While they were at a
" distance; but that when they closed, it was the
" finest

“finest sport imaginable for those that were armed
“with the sticks; but then again, they that were
“wounded by the sticks, cried out, that they did
“not at all think it a diversion to be thrashed in
“that close way.” They shew the blows they received from those that held the sticks both upon their hands and neck, and some in their faces; and then, as was natural, they laughed at one another.—The next day the whole field was full of people imitating these men; and whenever they had nothing of more serious business to do, they made use of this diversion.

AND *Cyrus* observing another colonel, upon a certain occasion, leading his men from the river, one by one, to their dinner; and when he thought it proper, ordering the second, third, and fourth company to advance in front; and when the captains were all in front, ordering each company to double their files, upon which the commanders of tens advanced in front; and that then, when he thought it proper, he ordered each company to bring themselves to be four in front; thus the commanders of five advanced that the company might march four in front; and that when they arrived at the door of the tent, commanding them to enter one by one; he introduced the first company, ordering the second to follow them in the rear, and the third and fourth in like manner, and so lead them all in; and that introducing them in this manner he sat them all down to their meat in the order as they entered.

He

He being much taken with this man for his good temper, instruction, and care, invited the whole regiment to sup with him, together with the colonel.— But another colonel, who had not been invited, being present at the time, spoke thus: “ But my regiment, “ *Cyrus!* said he, you do not invite to your tent; yet “ when they go to their dinner, they perform all these “ things; and when the business in the tent is over, “ the rear-leader of the last company leads out that “ company with the last men ranged first in order for “ battle; then the rear leader of the next company “ follows after these; so the third and fourth in the “ same manner; that, when it is proper to lead off “ from the enemy, they may know how to retreat. “ And when we get into the course, we there move “ about; when we march to the east, I lead the way, “ and the first company moves first, the second in its “ order, so the third and fourth, and the tens and “ fives of the several companies, in the proper course, “ as long as I give orders accordingly: But, (said he,) “ when we march to the west, the rear-leader “ and the last men lead the way, and yet obey me “ who march last; that they *be* accustomed both to “ follow and to lead with equal obedience.” “ And “ do you always do thus?” said *Cyrus*. “ As often, (said he,) “ as we take our meals.” “ I will invite “ you, therefore, said he, because you practise your “ exercise both in advancing and retreating, by day “ and night, and both exercise your bodies by the “ motion, and profit your minds by the discipline.

“ And

“ And since you do all these things double, it is but
“ just that I should give you double good entertain-
“ ment.” “ By *Jove* ! (said the Colonel,) not in one
“ day, unless you give us double stomachs too.”
— Thus they made an end of that conversation in the
tent ; and the next day *Cyrus* invited this regiment, as
he said he would, and did the same again the day fol-
lowing. The rest perceiving this, all imitated those
men for the future.

BUT as *Cyrus*, upon a certain occasion, was mak-
ing a general muster and review of his men under
arms, there came a messenger from *Cyaxares*, acquaint-
ing him that an *Indian* embassy was arrived. “ *Cy-*
“ *axares*, (said the messenger,) desires that you would
“ come as soon as possible, and from him I bring you
“ a beautiful robe ; for he has a mind that you should
“ appear in the handsomest and most splendid man-
“ ner, the *Indians* being to see the manner of your
“ approach.” *Cyrus*, hearing this, gave command
to the Colonel who stood first in order, to place him-
self in front, bringing his men into one line behind
him, and to keep himself to the right. He com-
manded him to transmit the same orders to the second,
and so to deliver them down through the whole.
These men, in obedience to *Cyrus*, presently delivered
down the orders, and put them in execution. In a
very little time they formed a front of three hun-
dred, for that was the number of the colonels, and
they were an hundred in depth. When they stood
thus, he commanded them to follow as he should lead
H them ;

them; and beginning presently to run, he led them the way. But when he perceived the avenue, that led to the palace, straiter than to allow them all to move on in front; he commanded the first thousand to follow in the situation and order they were in, and the next to follow in the rear of this, and so in like manner throughout the whole. He himself led on, without stopping. The other thousands followed, each in the rear of those that went before; and he sent two servants to the opening of the avenue, to give information of what was to be done, in case any should be ignorant of it. When they came to *Cyaxares's* gates, he commanded the first colonel to form his regiment to twelve in depth, and to range the commanders of twelves in front around the palace; he commanded him likewise to transmit these orders to the second, and so throughout the whole. They did accordingly. — He himself went in to *Cyaxares*, in a plain *Persian* robe, undisguised with foreign ornaments; *Cyaxares* seeing him, was displeased with his dispatch, but offended at the meanness of his robe; and said, “What have you done, *Cyrus*! in appearing thus before the *Indians*?” “I had a mind, (said he,) “that you should appear in the most splendid
“manner; and it had been an ornament to me, for
“you, who are my sister’s son, to have appeared the
“most magnificent that was possible.” *Cyrus* to this said, “Which way, *Cyaxares*, had I been the
“greater ornament to you, whether, if cloathing
“myself in purple, putting on bracelets, and en-
“com-

“ compassing my neck with a collar, I had obeyed
“ you in a loitering manner; or now, that with so
“ great and so good a force, I obey you with such
“ dispatch, having, in honour of you, adorned myself
“ with sweat and diligence, and adorning you, by
“ shewing the rest to be so obedient to your orders?”

Cyrus thus spoke.

CYAXARES, judging that he said right, gave order to introduce the *Indians*. The *Indians*, being come in, said, “ That the king of the *Indians* had
“ sent them; and had commanded them to ask,
“ What was the cause of the war between the *Medes*
“ and *Assyrians*? And when we had heard you, (said
“ they,) he commanded us to go to the *Assyrian*, and
“ ask him the same question; and, in the end, to
“ tell you both, that the king of the *Indians* does
“ declare, that, after having informed himself of the
“ justice of the cause, he will take part with the
“ injured.” *Cyaxares* to this said: “ You hear me
“ therefore declare, that we have done no injury
“ to the *Assyrians*; go then, and enquire from him,
“ what he says to it.” *Cyrus*, being present, asked
Cyaxares this question; “ And may I, (said he,) say
“ what I think proper upon this occasion?” *Cyax-*
“ *ares* bid him do so. Do you therefore, (said he,)
“ acquaint the king of the *Indians* thus! unless
“ *Cyaxares* judge otherwise: That if the *Assyrian* say,
“ he has been any ways injured by us, we declare,
“ that we chuse the king of the *Indians* himself to be
“ our judge.” These men hearing this, went their way.

WHEN the *Indians* were gone, *Cyrus* began a discourse with *Cyaxares* to this effect: “ I came from
“ home, *Cyaxares*, without having abundance of
“ treasure of my own; and whatever it was, I have
“ but very little of it left; for I have spent it,
(said he) “ upon the soldiers: this perhaps you will
“ wonder at, since it is you that maintain them.
“ But be it known to you! (said he,) that it has gone
“ in nothing else but in rewards, and gratifications
“ to the soldiers, whenever I have been pleased with
“ any of them. For, in my opinion, (said he,) it
“ is a much pleasanter thing to encourage all those
“ that one has a mind to make diligent and good
“ fellow-labourers with one in any business, of what-
“ ever kind it be, by speaking them fair, and doing
“ them good, than to do it by severe usage and by
“ force. But those that one would have to be zealous
“ fellow-labourers in the business of war, these
“ I think, ought absolutely to be courted to it both
“ by good words and good deeds: for such as are
“ to be hearty and sincere fellow-combatants, who
“ shall neither envy their commander in prosperity,
“ nor betray him in adversity, ought to be friends
“ and not enemies. Having determined thus with
“ myself in these matters, I think myself in want of
“ money. And yet, to have my eye, upon every
“ occasion, upon you, when I see you are already
“ engaged in very great expences, seems to me unreasonable. But I think it proper that you and
“ I should jointly consider what means to use that
“ treasure

“treasure may not fail you. For if you have plenty, I know that I may take it whenever I want; especially if I take for such a purpose, as will make it more to your advantage that the treasure should be so spent. I remember, therefore, upon some occasion, lately to have heard you say, that the *Armenian* is now grown to contemn you, because he hears that the enemy is coming upon us; and besides, that he neither sends you the forces, nor pays you the tribute that is due.” “Indeed, *Cyrus*, (said he,) these things he really does; so that I am in doubt whether it be better for me to make war upon him, and force him to comply, or whether it be most for our interest to let it pass for the present, lest we add him to the number of our enemies?” *Cyrus* then asked; “Are their habitations in places of strength, or in such as are accessible with ease?” And *Cyaxares* said, “Their habitations are in places that are not very strong; for I was not negligent in that affair. But there are mountains whither he may immediately retire and be in safety; so as neither to be himself exposed, nor any thing else that may possibly be carried off thither; unless one sit down and besiege him there, as my father once did.” Upon this, *Cyrus* said thus: “But if you will send me with such a number of horse as may be thought sufficient, I believe, with the assistance of the gods! I can make him send you forces, and pay you tribute. And besides, I even hope, that he will

“be yet more our friend than he is now.” *Cyaxares* then said: “And I have hopes that he will sooner come to you, than he will to us. For I have heard, that some of his children were your fellow-huntsmen. So that, perhaps, they may come to you again. And if some of them once come to be in our power, every thing will succeed to our desire.” “Is it not your opinion then, (said *Cyrus*,) that it will be for our advantage to conceal this contrivance between us?” “By this means, (said *Cyaxares*,) some or other of them may the more easily fall into our hands: or if one fall upon them, they may be taken the more unprepared.” “Hear then, (said *Cyrus*,) if you think what I am going to say may be of any moment: I have often hunted upon the borders of your territory, and that of the *Armenians*, with all the *Persians* that were with me; and I went thither, taking likewise from hence several horse-men from amongst my companions here.” “Therefore, (said *Cyaxares*,) by doing just the same things now, you may pass unsuspected; but if a much greater force should appear than what you used to have with you in hunting, this would presently give suspicion.” “But, (said *Cyrus*,) one may frame a very plausible pretence in this case; and that is, if care be taken that some body give them an account yonder in *Armenia*, that I intend to undertake a great hunt: then, (said he,) I would openly desire from you a body of horse.” “You say very well, (said *Cyaxares*;)”

Cyaxares ;) “ but I shall consent to give you but a
“ few, as intending to march myself to our garrisons
“ that lie towards *Assyria*. And, in reality, (said he,)
“ I do intend to go thither, in order to strengthen
“ them as much as possible. But when you are got
“ before with the force you have, and have hunted
“ for a day or two following, I may send you a suf-
“ ficient force both of horse and foot, out of those
“ that have rendezvoused under me. With these
“ you may immediately fall on, and I, with the
“ other forces, may endeavour to keep not far from
“ you, that if there be occasion I may likewise ap-
“ pear.”

ACCORDINGLY, *Cyaxares* presently formed a body of horse at the garrisons ; and sent waggons with provisions before by the road that led that way. *Cyrus* presently made a sacrifice for his intended march ; and at the same time sent and begged of *Cyaxares* some of his cavalry, and such as were of the younger sort. He, though there were multitudes that would have attended *Cyrus*, granted him not very many. *Cyaxares* being now gone before, with forces, both horse and foot, upon the road towards the garrisons ; it happened, that *Cyrus*’s sacrifice upon his design against the *Armenian* succeeded happily ; so he set forward as prepared for a hunt. As he was marching, a hare started immediately in the first field ; and an eagle of happy omen flying towards them, caught sight of the hare as it ran ; and bearing down upon it, struck it ;

then snatching it up, raised it aloft, and bearing it away to an eminence not far off, did there what it thought fit with its prey. *Cyrus* therefore, seeing this signal, paid his adoration to *Jove*, sovereign of the gods! and said to those who were present, “Friends! our hunt, if it please God, will be a noble one!”

WHEN they came to the borders, he hunted after his usual manner. The greater number of his horse and foot opened themselves in front, in order to rouse the beasts as they moved down upon them. The best of his men, both horse and foot, stood here and there dispersed, received the beasts as they were roused, and pursued them; and they took abundance both of swine, stags, goats, and wild asses; for there are yet abundance of wild asses in those parts at this day. When they had finished the hunt, and he had brought them close up to the *Armenian* borders, he ordered them to supper; and the next day hunted again, advancing to those mountains that he had desired to be master of. And when he had again ended his sport, he took his supper. But as soon as he found that the forces from *Cyaxares* were advancing, he sent privately to them, and ordered them to take their supper at about the distance of two parasangs from him, foreseeing that this would contribute to the concealing the affair. When they had supped, he ordered their commander to march and join him. After supper was over, he summoned the colonels

to him ; and when they were come, he spoke to them thus :

“ FRIENDS! the *Armenian* has been heretofore
“ both an ally and subject of *Cyaxares*: but now that
“ he finds the enemy coming upon him, he con-
“ temns him; and neither sends him forces nor pays
“ him tribute. It is he, therefore, that we must now
“ hunt, and catch if we can. Thus, therefore, (said
he,) “ in my opinion, we must now do. Do you,
“ *Chryfantas*! when you have had a little time to
“ sleep, take half the *Persians* that are with us, march
“ by the hill, and make yourself master of those
“ mountains whither, they say, the *Armenian* flies
“ when he finds himself in danger; and I will give
“ you guides. They say these mountains are full of
“ woods; so that there are hopes you will not be
“ discovered. However, if you send before the rest
“ of your army, some light men, equipped for
“ expedition, who both by their number and habit
“ may look like plunderers; these men, if they
“ meet with any of the *Armenians*, will prevent
“ those that they can take, from giving an account
“ of things; and by driving away those they cannot
“ take, will hinder them from seeing the whole
“ army; and will make them provide for themselves
“ only as against a band of thieves. Do you, (said
he,) “ do thus. I, at break of day, with half the
“ foot and all the horse, will march directly to the
“ palace of the *Armenian*, by the plain. If he make
“ head against us, it is plain we must fight. If he
“ retire,

“ retire, and quit the plain, it is evident we must
“ hasten after in pursuit of him. If he fly to the
“ mountains, then, (said he,) it is your business not
“ to allow any of those that come to escape you;
“ but reckon, as in hunting, that we are to be the
“ finders, and that you stand at the nets. Remember
“ therefore this; that the passages must be first stop-
“ ped before the beast is roused: and that they who
“ are appointed to that station ought to keep con-
“ cealed, if they have not a mind to turn off every
“ thing that takes its course towards them. And
“ do not act now, (said he,) *Chryfantas!* as the love
“ of hunting has sometimes made you do: for you
“ have often been employed the whole night, and
“ have not slept at all. But you should now allow
“ your men to lie down awhile, that they may get a
“ little sleep. And because you used to wander
“ through the mountains, without taking men for
“ your guides, but pursued wherever the beasts led
“ the way; do not march, therefore, now, through
“ such difficult places; but bid your guides lead you
“ the easiest way, unless there be one that is abun-
“ dantly the shorter; for to an army the easiest way
“ is the quickest. And because you used to pass the
“ mountains running, do not therefore now lead on
“ at full speed, but with middling dispatch, in such
“ sort, that the army may follow you. And it
“ is of great use that some of the most vigorous and
“ hearty should halt sometimes, and encourage the
“ rest; and when the whole wing is passed, it ani-
“ mates

“ mates the others to dispatch, to see these running
“ besides them, and passing them by as they them-
“ selves move on in their gentle pace.”

CHRYSANTAS hearing this, and being transported with the orders *Cyrus* had given him, took his guides, and went his way. And having given the proper directions to those that were to attend in his march, he went to rest. When they had had a moderate time for rest, he marched to the mountains.

CYRUS, as soon as it was day, dispatched a messenger to the *Armenian*; and bid him say thus:
“ Prince of *Armenia*! *Cyrus* sends you these direc-
“ tions, that you would come away as soon as possi-
“ ble, and bring with you your tribute, and your
“ forces. If he asks you where I am? tell him the
“ truth, that I am upon the borders. If he ask
“ whether I am advancing towards him? tell him
“ the truth here too, that you do not know. If
“ he enquire how many we are in number? bid him
“ send some body back with you to learn.” Hav-
ving given the messenger these orders, he dispatched him away; thinking it more friendly to do thus, than to march without sending word. And having formed his men into the best order, both for dis-
patch in marching, and for engagement in case of need, he began the march; first commanding his men to injure no one; and if any of them met with an *Armenian*, to bid him be of good heart; and to order every one that had a mind to sell either meat or drink, to come and make his market wherever they were.

C Y R O.



CYROPÆDIA:
OR, THE
INSTITUTION
OF
CYRUS.
BY XENOPHON.
BOOK III.

CYRUS was taken up in these affairs; but the *Armenian*, as soon as he heard from the messenger what *Cyrus* sent to tell him, was struck with it, considering that he had acted unjustly both in failing to pay his tribute, and in not sending his forces; and the thing he principally feared was, lest he should be discovered to have begun fortifying the place of his residence in such sort as to render it defensible. Being at a loss upon all these accounts, he sent around to assemble his forces; at the same time he sent his younger son, *Sabaris*, his own wife, his son's wife, and his own daughters, away to the mountains, and sent with them all his most valuable apparel and furniture, appointing them a force to conduct them; and

and at the same time he sent out scouts to discover what *Cyrus* was doing, and mustered all the *Armenians* he had at present with him; when immediately there arrived others, who told him that *Cyrus* was just behind them, and not having courage enough, upon this occasion, to come to action, he retired.

THE *Armenians*, when they saw him act in this manner, ran every one to their own affairs, with intent to put all their effects out of the way. *Cyrus*, when he saw the whole country full of people running up and down, and driving all off, sent them word, that he would be an enemy to none that remained at home; but if he caught any one making his escape, he declared he would treat him as an enemy. So the major part remained; some there were who went off with the king.

BUT when they who conducted the women fell in among those who were in the mountains, they presently set up a cry, and betaking themselves to flight, many of them were taken, and at last the son of the *Armenian*; the two wives and the daughters were likewise taken, as well as all the rich effects that were carrying off with them. As soon as the king perceived what had passed, being at a loss which way to turn himself, he fled to a certain eminence. *Cyrus* seeing this, surrounded the eminence with the army that he had with him, and sending to *Chrysantas*, ordered him to leave a guard upon the mountains, and to come away. The army then joined under *Cyrus*, and he, sending a herald to the *Armenian*, put the question

question to him in this manner: "Tell me, (said he,) "*Armenian*, whether it is your choice, staying there, "*to combat and struggle with thirst and hunger, or* "*to come down upon fair ground, and fight us?"* The *Armenian* answered, "That he did not chuse to "*engage in either of these ways.*" *Cyrus* sending again to him, asked him this question: "Why, then, "*sit you there, and do not come down?"* — "I am "*at a loss, (said he,) what I ought to do.*" — "But "*you ought not to be at a loss about it, (said Cyrus,)* "*for you are at liberty to come down, and have your* "*cause tried.*" — "And who, (said he,) shall be the "*judge?"* — "He, without doubt, to whom God has "*given power to deal with you as he pleases, without* "*a trial.*" Here the *Armenian*, seeing the necessity, came down; and *Cyrus* taking him, and all that belonged to him, into the midst of them, encamped around, having his whole force with him.

Just at this time, *Tygranes*, the eldest son of the *Armenian*, returned from a journey he had taken abroad; he who had been heretofore a fellow-huntsman with *Cyrus*. When he heard what had happened, he went directly to *Cyrus* just as he was, and when he saw his father, and mother, his brother, his sisters, and his wife prisoners, he wept, as was natural for him to do. *Cyrus*, upon seeing him, gave him no other mark of respect or friendship, but said to him, "You are come very opportunely, that you may be "*present and hear the trial and determination of your* "*father's cause!*" He then presently summoned all
the

the commanders of the *Persians* and the *Medes*, and invited all such of the *Armenians* there, as were men of note and quality; and the women, who were there present in their chariots, he sent not away, but allowed them to hear.

When all was ready, and in order, he began the discourse: “*Armenian*, (said he,) first of all I advise
 “you, in this trial of your cause, to speak the truth,
 “that you may be free from one crime at least, which
 “is a most hateful one; for be assured, that, to be
 “found false, is the greatest bar that can lie in mens
 “way to the obtaining of pardon. Then, (said he,)
 “these children and wives of yours, and all the *Ar-*
 “*menians* present, are apprized of all that you have
 “done; and if they perceive that you say things
 “contrary to what has passed, they will think, if I
 “discover the truth, that you condemn yourself to
 “the extremity of punishment.” — “Ask me, (said
 he,) “*Cyrus*, what you will, as being resolved to tell
 “you truth, happen what will in consequence of it.”
 — “Tell me, then, (said he,) did you, some time
 “ago, make war with *Astyages*, my mother’s father,
 “and with the rest of the *Medes*?” — “I did, (said
 he.) “And when you were conquered by him, did
 “you agree that you would pay him tribute? that
 “you would join your forces to his, wherever he
 “should direct, and that you would have no fortifi-
 “cations?” — “These things were as you say.”
 — “Now, therefore, why have you neither brought
 “your tribute, nor sent your forces, but were build-
 “ing

“ing you fortifications?” He replied, “I was de-
“sirous of liberty, for I thought it a noble thing
“both to be free myself, and to leave liberty to my
“children.” — “It is, indeed, noble, (said *Cyrus*,) to
“fight, in order not to be made a slave; but if a man
“be conquered in war, or by any other means be re-
“duced to servitude, and be found attempting to
“throw off his masters, do you yourself first pro-
“nounce whether you reward and honour such a one
“as an honest man, and as one that does noble
“things? or, if you take him, do you punish him as
“one that acts unjustly?” — “I punish him, (said
he;) “you do not suffer me to falsify.” — “Tell
“me, therefore, plainly, (said *Cyrus*,) and in particu-
“lar thus; If a man be a governor and transgress,
“do you suffer him to continue in his government,
“or do you constitute another in his stead?” “I
“constitute another,” (said he.) “If he is master
“of great riches, do you suffer him to continue
“rich, or do you reduce him to poverty?” “I
“take from him (said he) all that he has.” “If
“you find him revolting to the enemy, what do
“you do?” “I put him to death, (said he;) for
“why should I die convicted of falsehood, rather
“than die telling the truth?”

HERE his son, as soon as he heard these things,
threw off his turban and rent his cloaths! The wo-
men set up a lamentable cry, and tore themselves as
if their father were expired, and themselves lost and
undone! — *Cyrus* bid them be silent, and again spoke.

“Be it so, *Armenian*, that these determinations of
 “yours are just, what do you advise us to do upon
 “it?” The *Armenian* was silent, being at a loss whe-
 ther he should advise *Cyrus* to put him to death, or
 direct him to act just contrary to what he had said he
 would do himself.

His son *Tygranes* then asked *Cyrus*, “Tell me,
 (said he,) “*Cyrus*, since my father seems to be at a
 “loss, whether I shall advise you what I think best
 “for you to do in this case?” And *Cyrus*, well re-
 membring that when *Tygranes* used to hunt with him,
 there was a certain sage very conversant with him,
 and much admired by him, was very desirous to hear
 what he would say, and joyfully bid him speak his
 opinion: “Then, (said *Tygranes*,) if you approve
 “all the measures that my father has concerted, and
 “all that he has done, I advise you by all means to
 “imitate him: But if you are of opinion that he
 “has transgressed in all, my advice is, that you
 “should not imitate him.” “Then, (said *Cyrus*,)
 “by doing justice I shall be the farthest from an
 “imitation of the person transgressing.” “It is so,”
 said he. “According to your own reasoning, then,
 “your father should be punished, if it be just to
 “punish one who acts unjustly.” “But whether do
 “you think it best, *Cyrus*, to inflict your punish-
 “ments for your own advantage, or to your own
 “prejudice?” “Why this way (said he) I should
 “punish myself.” “And truly you would be highly
 “punished, said *Tygranes*, if you put to death those

“that

“ that belonged to you, at the time that they would
“ be of the greatest service to you to preserve.”
“ But how (said *Cyrus*) can men be so highly service-
“ able and useful, when found to have acted un-
“ justly?” “ Why truly, if they become considerate
“ and humble. For in my judgment, *Cyrus*, things
“ stand thus:—There is no virtue useful and pro-
“ fitable, without a discreet and sober sense of things.
“ For (said he) what use can be made of a man, who
“ has strength and bravery without discretion and
“ modesty? What use of one skilled in horseman-
“ ship, or of one abounding in riches, or powerful
“ in his country? But with discretion and modesty
“ every friend is useful, and every servant good.”—
“ This, therefore, (said he,) you assert; that your
“ father, from insolent and haughty, is become dis-
“ creet and humble in this one day’s time?” “ I do,”
said he. “ Then this discreet and modest state of
“ mind, you pronounce to be a passion of the soul,
“ as grief is; and not a matter of knowledge and
“ science: For if it be necessary, that he who be-
“ comes discreet and modest should be wise and
“ knowing, he cannot then, from insolent and
“ haughty, become, in an instant, discreet and mo-
“ dest.” “ But, *Cyrus*, (said he,) did you never observe
“ a man, out of pride and insolence, attempt fight-
“ ing with another more powerful than himself, and
“ when conquered, presently fall from that insolence?
“ Again, (said he,) have you never seen one city en-
“ gaged in war with another, and when conquered,

“ immediately, by this means, become willing to
“ obey, instead of continuing the war?” “ And what
“ conquest over your father, (said *Cyrus*,) is this you
“ speak of, and that thus forcibly brings him to a
“ discreet and humble sense of things?” “ Why
“ truly, the being conscious to himself, that while
“ he has affected liberty, he has become yet more
“ a slave than ever; and that of all the things he
“ thought to have effected, by privacy, by artifice,
“ or by force, he has not been able to effect one;
“ but has seen you deceive him in every thing you
“ intended to deceive him in, as effectually as one
“ might deceive the blind, or the deaf, or men of no
“ understanding at all; he knows you have kept
“ yourself so concealed from him, where you thought
“ it proper so to do, that the places he thought the
“ most secure to him, these by concealed preparations
“ you have made yourself master of; and you have so
“ far exceeded him in dispatch, that you are come
“ upon him with a very considerable army from afar,
“ before he had assembled his forces, that were just
“ at hand.” “ Are you of opinion, then, (said *Cyrus*,)
“ that such a conquest is sufficient to give men so
“ much consideration and modesty, as to think
“ others better than themselves?” “ Much more,
“ (said *Tygranes*,) “ than if a man were conquered in
“ fight; for he who is subdued by force, may think,
“ that by exercising his body he may be enabled to
“ renew the combat; and cities that have been
“ taken, imagine, that by gaining allies they may re-
“ new

“ new the war: But men often voluntarily submit
“ to those whom they judge better than themselves,
“ though under no necessity of doing it.” “ You
“ seem (said he) not to be of opinion, that the proud
“ and insolent can have any sense that there are any
“ more modest and confederate than themselves; or
“ thieves, that there are any who are not thieves;
“ or false men, that there are any observers of truth;
“ or unjust men, that there are any who act with jus-
“ tice. Do not you know, (said he,) that your fa-
“ ther has at this time dealt falsely, and not stood to
“ his agreements with us, though he knew very well
“ that we had not transgressed in any sort what *Asty-*
“ *ages* had stipulated?” “ Nor do I say, that the
“ knowledge alone, of others being better than our-
“ ourselves, makes men confederate and modest, un-
“ less they receive punishment at the hands of those
“ their betters, as my father now has done.”—“ But
“ your father (said *Cyrus*) has yet suffered no sort of
“ ill: I know very well that he is afraid indeed of
“ the highest punishments.” “ Do you think, there-
“ fore, (said *Tygranes*,) that any thing oppresses men
“ more than violent fear? Do not you know, that
“ they who are oppressed by the sword, which is
“ reckoned the severest correction, will recur again
“ to arms against the same enemy; but those that
“ they are thoroughly afraid of, they are not able so
“ much as to look at, when they do confer with
“ them?” “ Do you say, (said he,) that fear is a
“ heavier punishment upon men than real misfor-
“ tune?”

“tune?” You know yourself, (said he,) that what
“I say is true; you know, that they who are in
“fear of being banished their country, or that are
“in dread of being beaten in an engagement ap-
“proaching, are in a most dejected condition. They
“that are at sea, and that dread shipwreck, and they
“that fear servitude and chains, are neither able to
“eat or sleep for their fear; but they who are al-
“ready under banishment, who are already con-
“quered, and already slaves, are often in a condition
“to eat and sleep better than the fortunate them-
“selves. And how great a burthen fear is, is yet
“more evident by this, that some, in dread that
“death would follow their captivity, have died be-
“fore-hand by means of that dread, some throwing
“themselves headlong, some hanging themselves, and
“some dying by the sword: So that of all things
“terrible, fear strikes deepest into the minds of men.
“In what state of mind, then, (said he,) do you take
“my father to be? He who fears not only for his
“own liberty, but for mine, for that of his wife, and
“for that of all his children?”—Then *Cyrus* said,
“It does not seem at all improbable to me, that your
“father is at this time affected in this manner; but
“it belongs to the same man to be insolent and in-
“jurious in prosperity, and when broken in his for-
“tune, to be dejected and sunk, and when re-esta-
“blished in his affairs, to become insolent again,
“and again to create disturbance.” “Truly, *Cyrus*,
(said he,) “our transgressions give you cause to dis-
“trust

“ trust us ; but you are at liberty to build fortresses,
“ to keep possession of our places of strength, and to
“ take whatever other pledge you please ; and yet,
(said he,) “ you will not find us very uneasy under
“ these sufferings, for we shall remember that we
“ ourselves were the cause of them. But if by giving
“ up our government to any of those who are free
“ from guilt, you appear distrustful of us, look to it,
“ lest at the same time that you shall be a benefactor
“ to them, they shall think you no friend. And if,
“ in caution against their enmity, you do not impose
“ a yoke upon them to prevent their injuries, look
“ to it, that you come not under a greater necessity
“ of reducing them to be considerate and humble,
“ than you are now under of acting that part towards
“ us.” “ By the gods ! (said he,) it is, methinks, with
“ displeasure, that I make use of such servants as I
“ know serve me by necessity and force ; but those
“ that I judge to act their parts in concert with me,
“ out of friendship and good will, these, I think, I
“ can more easily bear with when they transgress, than
“ with those that hate me, and who by force discharge
“ their duty the most compleatly.” *Tygranes* to this
said, “ And with whom can you acquire so great a
“ friendship as you may with us ?” “ With those, as
“ I take it, who have never been so much at enmity
“ with us, provided I should be that friend and be-
“ nefactor to them, that you now desire me to be
“ to you.”—“ And can you possibly find, *Cyrus*,
(said he,) “ at this time, any one whom it is in your

“power to gratify in so high a degree as you may
“my father? First, (said he,) if you grant their lives
“to those who never did you any injury, what
“thanks will they pay you for it, think you? If
“you leave a man his wife and children, who can
“have greater friendship for you, upon this score,
“than he who thinks they may be justly taken from
“him? Do you know any one that will be more
“afflicted than ourselves, if the kingdom of *Armenia*
“be not given them?—And it is evident, that he
“who is most afflicted that he is not king, when he
“receives the regal power, will be the most grateful
“to you for it. And in case (said he) you are any
“ways concerned that things should be left here in
“the least confusion and disorder, when you quit us,
“consider whether things are likely to be upon a
“quieter foot under a new government, than if the
“old-accustomed government continue. If it be of
“any concern to you to draw from hence the greatest
“number of forces possible, who do you think will
“levy them better, than he who has often made
“use of them? And if you want money, who do
“you reckon will better raise it, than he who knows
“all, and is in possession of all? Good *Cyrus*, (said
he,) “be careful, lest, by rejecting us, you do your-
“self more mischief than my father has been able
“to do you.” To this effect he spoke.

AND *Cyrus* was extremely pleased to hear him,
thinking that he should be able to effect all that he
had promised *Cyaxares* to do; for he remembered to

have

have told him, that he thought he should make the *Armenian* yet more his friend than before. Upon this, then, he enquired thus of the *Armenian*: “And
“if I comply with you in these things, tell me, (said he,) “what force will you send with me, and what
“money will you contribute to the war?” To this the *Armenian* said: “*Cyrus*, (said he,) I have no reply
“to make more plain, or more just, than to expose
“to you all the forces I have, that, viewing the
“whole, you may take with you whatever you will,
“and leave what you will for the guard of the coun-
“try. In like manner, with respect to our riches, it
“is but just that I should discover to you all that I
“have, that, being apprized of all, you may carry off
“what you will of it, and leave what you please of
“it.” Then *Cyrus* said, “Proceed, then, and shew
“me what forces you have, and tell me what your
“riches amount to.” Here the *Armenian* replied:
“The horse of the *Armenians* are eight thousand, and
“their foot forty thousand. Our riches, including
“the treasure my father left, and reckoned in money,
“amount to more than three thousand talents.”
Then *Cyrus*, without hesitation, said: “Since, there-
“fore, (said he,) the *Chaldeans* that border upon you
“are at war with you, send with me half of your
“forces; and of your treasure, instead of fifty talents,
“which was the tribute you were to pay, give *Cya-*
“*xares* double that sum, for your defect in the pay-
“ment. Then lend me, (said he,) an hundred more,
“and I promise you, that, if God enable me, I will,
“in

“ in return of what you lend me, either do you such
 “ services as shall be of greater value, or, if I am not
 “ able, will count you down the money again ; if I am
 “ not able to do it, I may then appear unable ; but
 “ unjust I cannot be justly accounted.” Then the
Armenian said, “ I conjure you by the gods, *Cyrus*,
 “ not to talk in that manner, if you do, you will af-
 “ flict me ; but rather reckon, (said he,) that what
 “ you leave behind is not less yours than what you
 “ carry off with you.” — “ Be it so, (said *Cyrus*;) but
 “ to have your wife again, what money will you give
 “ me ?” — “ All that I am able,” (said he.) — “ What
 “ for your children ?” — “ And for these, too, (said
 he,) “ all that I am able.” — “ Here is, then, (said
Cyrus,) “ already as much gain as you have.” — “ And
 “ you, *Tygranes*, (said he,) at what rate would you
 “ purchase the regaining of your wife ?” (Now he
 happened to be but lately married, and had a very
 great love for his wife.) “ *Cyrus*, (said he,) to save
 “ her from servitude, I would ransom her at the ex-
 “ pence of my life.” — “ Take, then, your own to
 “ yourself, (said he;) I cannot reckon that she is pro-
 “ perly our captive, for you never fled from us.
 “ And do you, *Armenian*, take your wife and chil-
 “ dren, without paying any thing for them, that they
 “ may know they come free to you. — And now, (said
 he,) “ pray take a supper with us, and, when that is
 “ over, go your ways wherever you please.” So they
 stayed.

WHILE

WHILE they were together in the tent, *Cyrus* enquired thus : “ Tell me, (said he,) *Tygranes*, where is
“ that man that used to hunt with us, and that you
“ seemed much to admire ? ” — “ Oh ! (said he,) and
“ has not this father of mine put him to death ! ” —
“ And what crime did he discover him committing ? ”
“ He said that he corrupted me ; and yet, *Cyrus*, so
“ good and so excellent a man he was, that when he
“ was going to die, he sent for me, and told me,
“ *Tygranes*, (said he,) do not you bear ill will to your
“ father for putting me to death, for he does it not
“ out of malice, but out of ignorance ; and whatever
“ errors men fall into by ignorance, I reckon all such
“ involuntary.” *Cyrus*, upon this, said, “ Alas !
“ good man.” The *Armenian* then spoke thus :
“ They, *Cyrus*, who find strangers engaged in familiar
“ commerce with their wives, do not put them to
“ death, and charge them as endeavouring to make
“ their wives more discreet and modest ; but they
“ are of opinion that these men destroy that affection
“ and love their wives have for them, and for this
“ reason they treat them as enemies. And I, (said
he,) “ bore hatred and ill-will to this man, because I
“ thought he made my son respect and admire him
“ more than myself.” *Cyrus* then said ; “ By the
“ gods, (said he,) *Armenian*, I think you faulty, but
“ in such a manner as human nature is often liable to
“ be. And do you, *Tygranes*, forgive your father.”
— Having at that time discoursed in this manner, and
having treated each other with great kindness and
friend-

friendship, as is natural upon a reconciliation, they mounted their chariots in company with the women, and drove away well pleased.

WHEN they came home, one talked of *Cyrus's* wisdom, another of his patience and resolution, another of his mildness: one spoke of his beauty, and the tallness of his person; and upon that *Tygranes* asked his wife, "And do you, (said he,) *Armenian* "dame, think *Cyrus* handsome?" — "Truly, (said she,) "I did not look at him." — "At whom, then, "did you look?" said *Tygranes*. "At him who said, "that, to save me from servitude, he would ransom me "at the expence of his own life." And after some entertainment of this kind, as was usual, they went together to rest.

THE next day the *Armenians* sent presents of friendship to *Cyrus*, and to the whole army; he sent orders to those of his people that were to serve in this expedition, to attend on the third day, and he paid down double the sum of money that *Cyrus* had mentioned. *Cyrus*, accepting the sum he had expressed, sent the rest back, and asked, "Which of them would "command the army, whether his son, or himself?" They both spoke together, and the father said, "Either of us that you shall order." The son said, "I assure you, *Cyrus*, that I will not leave you, "though I serve in the army as a porter." *Cyrus*, laughing at this, said, "What would one give, (said he,) "that your wife heard you were to carry baggage?" — "There is no need, (said he,) that she "should

“ should hear, for I will carry her with me, and, by
“ that means, she may see what I do.” — “ But it is
“ full time, (said he,) that you had all things ready to
“ attend us.” — “ Count upon it, (said he,) that we
“ will be present at the time, with all things ready
“ that my father affords us.” When the soldiers had
been all thus entertained, and treated as friends, they
went to rest.

THE next day, *Cyrus*, taking *Tygranes* with him,
and the best of the *Median* horse, together with as
many of his own friends as he thought proper,
marched round, viewing the country, and examining
where to build a fortress. When they came to a
certain eminence, he asked *Tygranes*, “ Which were
“ the mountains from whence the *Chaldeans* made
“ their incursions to plunder the country ?” *Tygranes*
shewed them to him. He then enquired again,
“ And are these mountains entirely desert ?” — “ No,
“ truly, (said he,) but they have always certain scouts
“ there, who give notice to the rest, of whatever they
“ observe.” — “ And what do they do, (said he,) when
“ they have this notice ?” — “ They all then run to
“ the eminences, to defend themselves, every one as
“ fast as he can.” *Cyrus* gave attention to these
things, and, viewing around, he observed a great part
of the *Armenian* territory to be desert and unculti-
vated, by reason of the war. They then retired to
the camp, and, taking their supper, went to rest.

The next day *Tygranes*, with all things ready pro-
vided, joined him; having four thousand horse, ten
thousand

thousand archers, and as many targeteers with him. Cyrus, at the time they joined him, made a sacrifice. When the victims appeared to portend things fortunate and happy, he summoned the leaders of the *Persians* and *Medes*; and when they were together, he spoke to them to this effect: “ Friends! those mountains that we see, belong to the *Chaldæans*; if we can seize them, and have a fortress upon the summit, both *Armenians* and *Chaldæans* will be obliged to act with modesty and submission towards us. Our sacrifice promises us success; and in the execution of a design, nothing favours the inclinations of men so much as dispatch; if we prevent the enemy, and gain the mountains before they assemble, we may either take the summit entirely without a blow, or shall have but a few and weak enemies to deal with. Of all labours, therefore, there is none more easy nor more free from danger, than resolutely to bear the fatigue of dispatch. Haste, then, to arms! and do you, *Medes*! march upon our left; and of you, *Armenians*! let half march upon our right, and the other half lead on in front before us; and do you, the horse! follow in the rear, exhorting us and pushing us up before you; and if any one acts remissly, do not you suffer him to do so.”

CYRUS, having said this, led on; drawing the several companies into single files. The *Chaldæans*, as soon as they perceived that their heights were going to be attacked, gave their signal to their people,

hallooed

halloed out to each other, and ran together. *Cyrus* then gave out orders in this manner: “Men of *Persia*! they give us the signal of dispatch; if we prevent them in gaining the heights, the efforts of the enemy will be of no significance.” The *Chaldæans* had every one their shield, and two javelins; they are said to be the most warlike people of all in that part of the world: Where they are wanted, they serve for hire; being a warlike people and poor; for their country is mountainous, and but little of it fertile and rich. As *Cyrus*’s men approached the heights, *Tygranes* marching with *Cyrus*, spoke to him thus: “*Cyrus*! (said he,) do you know that we must presently come to action, and that the *Armenians* will not stand the attack of the enemy?” *Cyrus*, telling him that he knew it, made it presently be declared to the *Persians*, that they should hold themselves in readiness, as being immediately to fall on; and to pursue as soon as the flying *Armenians* drew the enemy down so as to be near them. So the *Armenians* led on. The *Chaldæans* who were upon the place, immediately, upon the approach of the *Armenians*, set up a cry, and, according to their custom, ran upon them; the *Armenians*, according to their custom, did not stand them. When the pursuing *Chaldæans* saw swordsmen fronting them and marching up, they some of them came up close, and were presently killed, some fled, and some were taken, and the heights were immediately gained. As soon as *Cyrus*’s men had gained the heights, they
saw

saw the habitations of the *Chaldæans*, and perceived them flying from such of those habitations as were near. *Cyrus*, as soon as the army was got together, ordered them to dinner. When dinner was over, having got information of the places where the *Chaldæans* planted their watch, he undertook the building of a fortress that was very strong, and well supplied with water. He ordered *Tygranes* to send to his father, and bid him come away with all the carpenters and builders he could get; the messenger went his way to the *Armenian*; *Cyrus* applied himself to the building with all the workmen he had at that time with him.

MEAN while they brought *Cyrus* the prisoners, some bound and some wounded. As soon as he saw them, he ordered those that were bound to be loosed; and sending for thy physicians, he ordered them to take care of the wounded. He then told the *Chaldæans*, that he was not come either with a desire to destroy them, or with inclination to make war upon them; but with intention to make peace between the *Armenians* and *Chaldæans*. “Before we
 “got possession of your mountains, I know you had
 “no desire of peace: your own concerns were in
 “safety; the effects of the *Armenians* you plundered
 “at your pleasure. But now you see the condition
 “you are in. Those of you, therefore, that have
 “been taken, I dismiss to your homes, and allow
 “you, together with the rest of the *Chaldæans*, to
 “consult amongst yourselves, whether you incline to
 “make

“ make war with us, or to be our friends : if war be
“ your choice, come no more hither without arms,
“ if you are wise ; if you think peace for your turn,
“ come without arms. And if you are friends, it
“ shall be my care, that your affairs shall be esta-
“ blished upon the best foot.” The *Chaldæans*
having heard these things, after many praises bestowed
upon *Cyrus*, and many assurances of friendship and
trust given him, went home.

THE *Armenian*, as soon as he heard what *Cyrus* had
done, and the request he had made him, took car-
penters with him, and all things else, that he thought
necessary, and came to *Cyrus* with all possible dis-
patch. As soon as he saw *Cyrus*, he said to him,
“ O *Cyrus* ! how few things in futurity are men able
“ to foresee ! and how many projects do we under-
“ take ! I have endeavoured upon this occasion to
“ obtain liberty ; and I became more a slave than
“ ever : and after having been made captive, and
“ thinking our destruction certain, we now again
“ appear to be in a condition of greater safety and
“ security than ever. For these men never ceased
“ doing us all manner of mischief ; and I now find
“ them just in the condition I wished. And be it
“ known to you, (said he,) *Cyrus* ! that to have so driven
“ the *Chaldæans* from these heights, I would have
“ given many times the money you received from
“ me. And the services you promised to do us,
“ when you took the money, you have now so fully
“ performed, that we appear to be brought under

“ new obligations to you, which, if we are not very
 “ ill men, we shall be ashamed not to discharge; and
 “ whatever returns we make, we shall not be found
 “ to have done so much as such a benefactor de-
 “ serves.” Thus spoke the *Armenian*.

THE *Chaldeans* came back, begging of *Cyrus* to make peace with them. Then *Cyrus* asked them,
 “ *Chaldeans*, (said he,) is it upon any other consider-
 “ tion that you desire peace, or is it only because
 “ you think you shall live with more security in
 “ peace, than if you continue the war, since we
 “ ourselves told you so?” — “ We have other con-
 “ siderations,” (said the *Chaldeans*.) “ And what,
 (said he,) “ if there are still other advantages that
 “ may accrue to you by peace?” — “ We shall be still
 “ the more pleased,” (said they.) — “ Do you think,
 “ therefore, (said he,) that your being a poor and
 “ needy people, is caused by any thing else but by
 “ the want of good land?” They agreed with him
 in this. “ Well then! (said *Cyrus*,) would you
 “ willingly be at liberty to cultivate as much of the
 “ *Armenian* territory as you pleased, paying the
 “ same for it that the *Armenians* do?” — “ Yes,
 (said they,) “ if we could be secure that we should
 “ not be injured.” — “ What say you then, *Armenian*,
 (said he,) “ would you be willing to have your
 “ waste land cultivated, upon terms that the
 “ farmers of it shall pay you the settled dues? The
Armenian said, “ He would give a great deal to have
 “ it so; for his revenue would be much improved
 “ by

“ by it. And you, (said he,) *Chaldeans*, since you
“ have mountains that are fertile, would you consent
“ that the *Armenians* should use them for pasture, upon
“ condition that they who make use of them, shall pay
“ what is just and reasonable?” The *Chaldeans*
said, “ That they would; for it would be a consi-
“ derable profit to them without any labour.” —
“ And you, *Armenian*, (said he,) would you make
“ use of the pastures of these men, if, by allowing
“ a small profit to the *Chaldeans*, you might make
“ a much greater profit by it yourselves?” — “ Rea-
“ dily, (said he,) if I thought I might do it securely.”
“ And securely you might do it, (said he,) if the
“ summits were in the hands of your friends.” The
Armenian agreed. “ But truly, (said the *Chaldeans*,)
“ we should not be able to cultivate securely, neither
“ the lands of these people, nor our own, if they are
“ in possession of the summits.” — “ But suppose,
(said he,) “ the summits are possessed by such as are
“ friends to you.” — “ Thus indeed, (said they,)
“ things might do very well.” — “ But, indeed, (said
the *Armenian*,) “ things will not be well with us, if
“ these men come to be again possessed of the sum-
“ mits; especially when they are fortified.” —
Then *Cyrus* said, “ Thus therefore I will do; I
“ will give up the summits to neither of you, but
“ we will keep them ourselves; and if either of you
“ injure the other, we will take part with the in-
jured.” When they heard this, they both of them
gave their applause, and said, “ Thus only can the

“peace be firm and stable.”—Upon this they gave and received mutually assurances of friendship and trust, and stipulated to be both of them free and independent of each other, to intermarry, to cultivate, and feed each others lands reciprocally, and to be common allies and support to each other against whosoever should injure either of them. Thus were these matters then transacted. And these agreements, then made between the *Chaldeans* and the possessor of *Armenia*, subsist still to this day. When the agreements were made, they both presently applied themselves with zeal to the building of this fortress as a common guard; and they jointly furnished all things necessary towards it.

WHEN evening came on, he took both parties to sup with him, as being now friends. As they were at supper, one of the *Chaldeans* said, “That these
 “things were such as all the rest of them wished for;
 “but that there were some of the *Chaldeans* who lived
 “by plunder, and who neither knew how to apply
 “themselves to work, nor were able to do it, being
 “accustomed to live by war; for they were always em-
 “ployed upon plunder, or hired out upon some ser-
 “vice; frequently to the king of the *Indians*, for he
 “is one, (said they,) that abounds in gold; and fre-
 “quently to *Astyages*.” Then *Cyrus* said, “And
 “why do not they engage themselves to me? for I
 “will give them as much as any other ever
 “gave.” They consented, and said, “That
 “there would be a great many that would willing-
 “ly

“ly engage in his service.” These things were accordingly agreed.

CYRUS, as soon as he heard that the *Chaldæans* frequently went to serve under the *Indian*, and remembering that there were certain persons that came from him to the *Medes* to apprise themselves of the *Median* affairs, and went thence to the enemy to get an insight likewise into their affairs, he was desirous that the *Indian* should be informed of what he had done. He therefore began a discourse to this effect: “Tell me, (said he,) *Armenian*, and you *Chaldæans*, “if I should send one of my people to the *Indian*, “would you send with him some of yours who “should direct him in his way, and act in concert “with him, to obtain from the *Indian* the things that I “desire? for I would procure some further addition “to my treasure, that I may have what will fully “suffice, to discharge the pay of those to whom it “becomes due, and to honour and reward such of “my fellow-soldiers as are deserving. Upon these “accounts I would have plenty of treasure; I think “I want it; and to spare you would be a pleasure to “me; (for I now reckon you our friends.) But “from the *Indian* I would gladly accept of something if he would give it me. The messenger, “therefore, that I desire you to give guides and “assistants to, when he gets thither, shall say thus:— “Prince of *India*! *Cyrus* has sent me to you; he “says that he is in want of money, expecting another army from *Persia*; (and in reality I do expect

“ it, (said he;) if you send him therefore as much as
 “ you can conveniently, he assures you that, if God
 “ gives a happy issue to his affairs, he will do his
 “ endeavours to make you think that you have
 “ taken a happy step in gratifying him.—This he
 “ shall say from me. Do you, on the other side,
 “ send him word by your people, that you think it
 “ will be of advantage to you. And if we get any
 “ thing from him, (said he,) we shall have all things
 “ in greater plenty; if we get nothing, we shall know
 “ that we owe him no thanks, and that as to him
 “ we shall be at liberty to regulate all our affairs as
 “ best suits our own interests.”—Thus said Cyrus,
 counting upon it that those of the *Armenians* and
Chaldeans, that went upon this message, would say
 such things of him, as he himself desired all men
 should say and hear concerning him. Then at the pro-
 per time they broke up the company in the tent, and
 went to rest.

THE next day *Cyrus* sent away his messenger,
 charging him with all that he had before expressed.
 The *Armenian* and the *Chaldeans* sent with him such
 men as they judged most proper to act in concert
 with him, and to relate such things concerning *Cyrus*
 as were just and worthy of him.

AFTER this, *Cyrus*, having supplied the fortress
 with a sufficient garrison, and with all things ne-
 cessary, and leaving as governor a certain *Mede*,
 one that he judged would be most agreeable to
Cyaxares, marched away; taking with him both the
 army that he came with, and that which he had
 from

from the *Armenians*, as well as the men he had from the *Chaldeans*, who amounted to about four thousand, and thought themselves better than all the rest.

WHEN he came down into the inhabited country, not one of the *Armenians*, neither man nor woman, kept within doors; but all went out and met him, being overjoyed at the peace, and running out with whatever they had of greatest value. The *Armenian* was not at all uneasy at these things; thinking that *Cyrus*, by means of the honours that were thus paid him by all, would be the better pleased. At last likewise the wife of the *Armenian* met him, having her daughters with her, and her younger son; and, together with other presents, she brought that treasure that *Cyrus* had before refused. *Cyrus*, when he saw her, said, “Ye shall not make me such a sort of
“a man as to run up and down the world bestowing
“my services for money! Go your ways, woman,
“and keep all this treasure that you bring, and do
“not give it to the *Armenian* again to bury; but
“equip your son with it in the handsomest manner,
“and send him to the war; and out of the remainder,
“supply yourself, your husband, your daughters,
“and your sons with every thing whether for use or
“ornament, that may make you pass your days in
“the most agreeable and handsome manner; let it
“suffice us to lay our bodies under ground, every
“one of us when we die.”—Having said this, he marched on; the *Armenian* attended upon him, as

all the rest likewise did; calling him aloud, “ Their benefactor and an excellent man ! ” Thus they did, till they had conducted him out of their territory. The *Armenian* sent a greater force with him, being now at peace at home. So *Cyrus* went away, not only enriched with the treasure he had received, but, by means of his conduct, he had laid up a much greater store, and could supply himself whenever he wanted. They then encamped upon the borders. The next day he sent the army and treasure to *Cyaxares*, who was at hand, as he had said he would be. He, with *Tygranes*, and the principal *Persians*, hunted where they met with game, and diverted themselves.

WHEN he came into *Media*, he distributed money to his centurions, as much as he thought sufficient for each of them, and that they might have wherewithal to reward such of their men under them, as they might happen to be particularly pleased with. For he thought, that if every one rendered his part of the army praise-worthy, the whole would be set right to his hands. And if he any where observed any thing that might contribute to the beauty of the army, he purchased it, and gave it to the most deserving; reckoning that whatever his men were possessed of, that was beautiful and noble, it was all an ornament to himself.

WHEN he had made a distribution amongst them out of what he had received, then, in an assembly of centurions, captains, and all others that he particularly

larly esteemed, he spoke to this effect: “Friends!
“a particular pleasure and satisfaction seems now to
“attend us, both because we have plenty, and that
“we are in possession of what enables us to bestow
“rewards where we desire, and to be rewarded every
“one according to his merit. But then we ought by
“all means to remember what the things are that have
“procured us these advantages; and upon exami-
“nation, you will find them to be these. Our being
“watchful upon the proper occasions, our being
“laborious, our dispatch, and our not giving way
“to the enemy. It is our part, therefore, to con-
“tinue thus brave men for the future; determining
“with ourselves, that obedience and resolution, la-
“bours, and hazard, upon the proper occasions, are
“things that produce great pleasures and great ad-
“vantages.”

BUT *Cyrus*, considering how well the bodies of his men stood with respect to their being able to undergo all military labours; how well their minds were disposed with respect to contempt of the enemy; how skilful they were in all things fitting, each in their several sorts of arms; and he saw that they were all well disposed with respect to obedience to their commanders; from all this therefore he now desired to come to action with the enemy; knowing that by delay some part or other of a noble preparation comes to change and fail in the commander's hands. And besides, observing that, from a contention in things wherein men are ambitious to exceed,

exceed, the soldiers had contracted envy and ill-will to each other, he was, for this reason, desirous to lead them, as soon as possible, out into the enemy's country; knowing, that common dangers make friends, and fellow-combatants keep in a friendly disposition one towards another; and that in this circumstance they neither envy those that are finely armed, nor those that are ambitious of glory; but that even such men themselves rather applaud and esteem others that are like them, accounting them their fellow-labourers in the publick service. So, in the first place, he compleatly armed them all, and formed them into the best and most beautiful order that was possible. He then summoned the commanders of ten thousands, the commanders of thousands, the centurions, and captains, (for these were exempt from being reckoned of the number of those that constituted the military rank. And when they were to execute any orders from the commander in chief, or to transmit any particular directions to others; yet thus there was nothing left confused and without rule; but the remainder of the men were preserved in order by the commanders of twelves and sixes.) When the proper persons were assembled, he conducted them about with him, and shewed them all that was right and in proper order; and taught them in what consisted the strength of every ally. And when he had raised in these men a desire of doing something, he bid them go to their several distinct bodies, teach them what he had taught themselves, and

and endeavour to inspire them all with a desire of action, that they might set forward with all possible ardour; and he bid them, in the morning, attend at *Cyaxares's* door. They then retired, and did as they were ordered.

THE next morning, as soon as it was day, the proper persons attended at the doors; and *Cyrus*, entering in with them to *Cyaxares*, began a discourse to this effect: “ I know, *Cyaxares*, (said he,) that
“ what I am going to say is not less your opinion
“ than it is our own; but perhaps you may be un-
“ willing to express it, lest you should seem to put
“ us in mind of marching away, as if the maintaining
“ us were burthensome and uneasy to you: There-
“ fore, since you are silent, I will speak both for
“ you and for ourselves.—Since we are prepared
“ and ready, it is the opinion of us all not to delay
“ engaging the enemy till after they have broken in
“ upon your country; and not to sit down and wait
“ here in the territory of our friends, but to march
“ with all possible dispatch into the enemy’s country.
“ For now that we are here in your territory, we are
“ forced against our wills to injure you many ways.
“ But if we march into the enemy’s country, we
“ shall with pleasure do them mischief. Then it is
“ you that now maintain us, and at a great expence.
“ If we carry the war abroad, we shall be maintained
“ upon the enemy’s country. But then, indeed, if
“ our danger was to be greater there than it is here,
“ perhaps the safest course should be taken; but
“ they

“ they will be the same men, whether we wait here
“ for them, or march into their own country and
“ meet them; and we shall be the same, whether
“ we receive them here as they come upon us, or
“ march up to them and attack them. But we shall
“ have the minds of our men in better condition,
“ and more animated, if we march to the enemy,
“ and seem not to get sight of them against our
“ wills. They will have a much greater terror of
“ us, when they shall hear that we do not sit at home
“ in dread, and terrified with them; but that as soon as
“ we perceive them advancing, we march and meet
“ them, in order to close with them as soon as
“ possible; and that we do not wait till our own
“ country is distressed by them, but that we prevent
“ them, and lay their lands waste; and then, (said he,)
“ if we strike terror into them, and raise courage in
“ ourselves, I take this to be a very great advantage
“ to us. Thus I reckon the danger to be much
“ less to us, and much greater to the enemy. And
“ my father always says, you yourself say, and all
“ others agree, that battles are decided rather by the
“ courage and spirits of men, than by the strength of
“ their bodies.”—Thus he spoke, and *Cyaxares* re-
plied, “ O *Cyrus!* and you the rest of the *Persians!*
“ Do not imagine that the maintaining you is bur-
“ thenfome and uneasy to me: But indeed, the
“ marching into the enemy’s country seems now to
“ me to be the better course.”—“ Since, therefore,
(said *Cyrus*,) “ we agree in opinion, let us make all
“ things

“ things ready, and if our sacred rites signify the
“ approbation of the gods, let us depart as soon as
“ possible.”

Upon this, giving orders to the soldiers to make all things ready, *Cyrus* made a sacrifice, first to REGAL JOVE, then to the other DEITIES; and prayed, that they would vouchsafe to be conductors to the army, good and gracious assistants and friends, and direct them in all happy courses: He invoked likewise the HEROES, inhabitants and guardians of the land of *MEDIA*. When he had sacrificed happily, and the whole army was formed upon the borders, meeting with happy auguries, he fell into the enemy's country. As soon as he had passed the borders, he performed propitiatory rites to the EARTH by libations, and to the GODS by sacrifice; and implored the favour of the HEROES inhabitants of *ASSYRIA*. And having done this, he again sacrificed to PATERNAL JOVE; and whatever other DEITY occurred to him, he neglected none.

WHEN these things were duly performed, making the foot advance at a small distance forward, they encamped; and making excursions around with the horse, they furnished themselves with great quantities of all kinds of booty. Then changing their encampments, and being provided with all things necessary in abundance, and laying the country waste, they waited for the enemy. When they were said to be advancing, and not to be at the distance of above two days march, then *Cyrus* said, “ Now, *Cyaxares*,
“ is

“ is the time for us to march and meet them, and not
 “ to appear, either to the enemy or to our own peo-
 “ ple, afraid of advancing against them ; but let us
 “ make it evident, that we do not come to a battle
 “ with them against our wills.”—When *Cyaxares* had
 agreed, they advanced towards the enemy, keeping
 always in order, and marching each day as far as
 they thought it proper, they took their supper by
 day-light, and made no fires in their camp by night,
 but made them before the front of the camp, that
 by means of these fires they might perceive if any
 people approached in the night, and might not be
 seen themselves by the approachers ; and they fre-
 quently made their fires behind the camp, in order
 to deceive the enemy ; so that the enemy’s people,
 that were sent out for intelligence, sometimes fell in
 with the advanced guards, thinking themselves to
 be still at a distance from the camp, because the fires
 were behind.

THE *Assyrians* then, and those that attended them,
 as soon as the armies were near to each other, threw
 up an entrenchment round themselves ; a thing that
 the *Barbarian* kings practise to this day when they
 encamp ; and they do it with ease, by means of their
 multitude of hands : For they know, that an army of
 horse in the night is confused and unweildy, espe-
 cially if they are barbarian ; for they have their
 horses tied down to their mangers, and if they are
 attacked, it is troublesome in the night to loose the
 the horses, to bridle them, and to put them on their
 breast.

breast-plates and other furniture; and when they have mounted their horses, it is absolutely impossible to march them through the camp. Upon all these accounts, both they and others of them throw up an intrenchment round themselves; and they imagine, that their being entrenched puts it in their power, as long as they please, to avoid fighting. And thus doing, they approached each other.

WHEN they were advanced to about the distance of a parasang, the *Assyrians* encamped in the manner before expressed, in a post entrenched, but exposed to view; *Cyrus*, in a place the most concealed that was possible, with villages and rising grounds before him, reckoning that all things hostile that discover themselves on a sudden, are the more terrible to the opposite party; and both parties, that night, posting advanced guards as was proper, went to rest.

THE next day the *Assyrian*, and *Cræsus*, and the other leaders, gave their armies rest in their strong camp. *Cyrus* and *Cyaxares* waited in order of battle, as intending to fight if the enemy advanced. When it appeared that the enemy would not stir out of their entrenchment, nor come to a battle that day, *Cyaxares* summoned *Cyrus*, and all the other proper persons, to him, and spoke to this effect: — “It is
“my opinion, friend, (said he,) that we should march
“in the order we are in, up to the entrenchment of
“these men, and shew them that we are desirous to
“come to a battle, for by this means, (said he,) if
“they do not come out to us, our men will act with
“the

“the more courage against them, and the enemy, ob-
 “serving our boldness, will be the more terrified.”
 This was his opinion. But *Cyrus* said, “By the
 “gods, *Cyaxares*, we must by no means act in this
 “manner, for if we now discover ourselves, and march
 “as you desire, the enemy will see us advancing to-
 “wards them, and will be in no manner of fear of
 “us, knowing themselves to be in a situation secure
 “from any danger; and after having made this
 “march, when we shall retreat, then again, seeing
 “our numbers much inferior to theirs, they will
 “have a contempt for us, and to-morrow will march
 “out with minds more firm and resolute; but now,
 (said he,) “that they know we are at hand, without
 “seeing us, be assured they do not contemn us, but
 “are solicitous to know how things stand, and are, I
 “know very well, continually taken up in debating
 “about us. But when they march out, then ought
 “we at once to make our appearance, march in-
 “stantly, and close with them, taking them at the
 “advantage we have heretofore desired.” — *Cyrus*
 having spoke thus, *Cyaxares*, and the rest, agreed in
 opinion with him. Then, having taken their sup-
 pers, placed their guards, and made many fires in
 front before those guards, they went to rest.

THE next day, early in the morning, *Cyrus*, with a
 crown upon his head, made a sacrifice, and ordered
 the rest of the alike-honoured to attend the holy rites
 with crowns. When the sacrifice was over, *Cyrus*
 called them together, and said: — “The Gods,
 “friends,

“ friends, as the diviners say, and as I myself think,
“ do foretel that there will be a battle; they give us
“ victory, and promise us safety by the victims. I
“ ought, perhaps, to be ashamed to direct what sort
“ of men you ought to shew yourselves upon such an
“ occasion; for I know you understand those things
“ as well as I do; that you have practised and learnt,
“ and continue to learn all the same things that I have
“ done, so that you may justly instruct others in
“ them: but if, perhaps, you may not have taken
“ exact notice of them, pray hear. — Those men that
“ we have lately admitted as our fellow-combatants,
“ and have endeavoured to make like ourselves, it is
“ your part to put them in mind for what purposes
“ we are all maintained by *Cyaxares*, what the things
“ are that we practise, and have invited them to, and
“ wherein, they said, they would joyfully be our ri-
“ vals; and put them in mind, likewise, of this, that
“ this day will shew what every one deserves; for in
“ things where men have been late learners, it is
“ no wonder that some of them have need of a moni-
“ tor. One ought to be contented if they can make
“ themselves good and useful men upon admonition,
“ then in doing this, you will make trial of your-
“ selves. For he that upon such an occasion is able
“ to make others better men, must be justly conscious
“ of being himself compleatly good; but he who
“ bears these things in mind to himself only, and rests
“ satisfied with that, should in justice account him-
“ self but half compleat. The reason why I do not

“ speak to these men myself, but bid you do it, is,
“ because they may endeavour to please you; for you
“ are immediately conversant with them, every one
“ of you in his particular part; and be assured, that
“ while you shew yourselves to be in courage and
“ heart, you will teach courage to these men, and to
“ many more, not by words, but by deed.” — In
conclusion, he bid them go, crowned as they were,
to their dinners; and, when they had performed
their libations, to come crowned to their ranks.

WHEN these men were gone, he summoned the
rear-leaders to him, and spoke to them to this ef-
fect: “ You, likewise, men of *Persia*, are become
“ part of the alike-honoured, and have been chosen
“ as men who appear to be equal, in all other re-
“ spects, to the bravest, but by your age to excel in
“ discretion; you have, therefore, a station assigned
“ you, which is not less honourable than that of the
“ file-leaders; for, being placed in the rear, and ob-
“ serving the brave, and encouraging them, you
“ make them still the better men; and if any one
“ acts remissly, you do not suffer him to do so. If
“ victory be of advantage to any, it is so to you, both
“ by reason of your age, and of the weight of your mi-
“ litary habit: If they therefore who are before, call
“ out to you, and exhort you to follow, comply with
“ them; and that you may not be outdone by them
“ in this, do you exhort them, in return, to lead with
“ more dispatch to the enemy. Go, then, (said he,)
“ and, when you have taken your dinners, come
“ crowned

“crowned with the rest to your ranks.” Cyrus’s men were thus employed.

THE *Assyrians*, when they had dined, marched boldly out, and formed themselves with a great deal of resolution. The king himself formed them, driving round in his chariot; and he made them an exhortation in this manner:—“Men of *Assyria*, now is
“the time for you to be brave men, for now is your
“trial for your lives, for the country where you were
“born, for the houses where you were bred, for your
“wives and children, and for all things valuable that
“you possess! If you conquer, you remain masters
“of all these as before; if you are defeated, be as-
“sured you give them all up to the enemy; there-
“fore, as you value victory, stand firm, and fight;
“for it is a folly for those that desire conquest, to
“turn the blind, unarmed, and harmless parts of
“their bodies to the enemy by flight. He is a fool,
“who, for love of life, should attempt flying, when
“he knows that the conquerors are safe, and that
“run-aways meet death more certainly than they who
“stand their ground; and he is a fool, who, out of
“love to his money, submits to a defeat; for who is
“there that does not know, that conquerors save all
“that belongs to themselves, and acquire, besides, all
“that belongs to the defeated enemy? But they who
“are defeated throw both themselves, and all that be-
“longs to them, away.”—Thus was the *Assyrian* em-
“ployed,

BUT *Cyaxares* sending to *Cyrus*, told him, “ That
 “ now was the opportunity of leading to the enemy;
 “ for, (said he,) if there are yet but few that are got
 “ out of the entrenchment, by that time we arrive
 “ there will be great numbers of them. Therefore
 “ let us not wait, till they are more numerous than
 “ ourselves; but let us march, whilst we think we
 “ may yet easily master them.” — *Cyrus* replied:
 “ Unless those, *Cyaxares*! that we shall defeat, amount
 “ to above half the number of the enemy, be assured
 “ they will say that we are afraid of their numbers,
 “ and therefore attacked but a few of them. They
 “ will not take themselves to be defeated. And it
 “ will be necessary for you to come to another battle,
 “ when, perhaps, they will contrive better than they do
 “ now; that they give themselves up to us to parcel
 “ out and engage as many of them as we please.”
 The messengers having heard this went their way.

UPON this came *Chryfantas* the *Persian*, and others
 of the alike-honoured, bringing with them certain
 deserters. *Cyrus*, as usual, required from these de-
 serters an account of the enemy. They told him
 that they were already marching out in arms; that
 the king was come out and was forming them; and
 that continually as they marched out, he made them
 many warm and vigorous exhortations, as the hearers,
 they said reported. Here *Chryfantas* spoke:—
 “ *Cyrus*, (said he,) what therefore if you should call
 “ the soldiers together, while you are yet at liberty
 “ to make them an exhortation, in order to make

“ them

“ them braver and better men ? ” — Then *Cyrus* said,
“ O, *Chryfantas*, let not the exhortations of the
“ *Assyrians* disturb you ; for no exhortation, what-
“ ever, though never so noble, can at the instant,
“ make the hearers brave, if they were not so before.
“ Nor can it make them skilful at the bow unless
“ they have before practised it ; nor skilful at the
“ javelin, nor horsemen ; nor can it give them bo-
“ dies capable of labour, unless they have been
“ before inured to it.” *Chryfantas* then said, “ But
“ it is enough if you can make their minds better
“ by your exhortation.” — “ And can a word, (said
Cyrus,) “ spoken at the instant, inspire the minds of
“ the hearers with a sense of shame, or hinder them
“ from doing things mean and base ? Can it influence
“ them effectually to undergo all labours, and run
“ all hazards to gain praise ? Can it establish this
“ sentiment firmly in their minds, that to die fighting
“ is rather to be chosen than to be saved by flying ?
“ And if such sentiments, (said he,) are to be in-
“ stilled into men, and to be made lasting, ought
“ there not, in the first place, to be such laws esta-
“ blished whereby a life with honour and liberty
“ should be provided for the brave ? and such a
“ course of life traced out and laid before the vicious,
“ as should be abject and painful, and not worth
“ living out ? Then there ought to be teachers and
“ governors in these affairs, who should direct men
“ right, should teach and accustom them to practise
“ these things, till they could determine with them-

“ felves, that the brave and the renowned are in
 “ reality the happiest of all; and to judge that the
 “ vicious and the infamous are of all the most mi-
 “ serable. For thus ought those to stand affected,
 “ who are to make their institution and discipline
 “ over-rule their fear of the enemy. But if just at
 “ the time that men are marching in arms to the
 “ enemy, when many are hurried out of all their
 “ former learning and knowledge, it were in any
 “ one’s power by putting together a set form of
 “ words, to make men in the instant soldiers, then
 “ were it the easiest thing in the world both to
 “ learn and to teach the greatest virtue that belongs
 “ to men. Nor could I be secure that the men, we
 “ now have, and that have been exercised under us,
 “ would remain firm unless I saw you here present
 “ with them, who will be examples to them in their
 “ behaviour, and will be able to remind them, if they
 “ are at a loss in any thing. I should very much
 “ wonder, (said he,) *Chryfantas*! if a discourse never
 “ so finely spoken should be able to teach bravery
 “ to men wholly undisciplined in virtue, any more
 “ than a song well sung, could teach musick to such
 “ as were wholly uninstructed in it.” — In this
 manner they discoursed.

AND *Cyaxares* sent word again to *Cyrus*, that he
 was much in the wrong to spend time, and not march
 immediately to the enemy. *Cyrus* made answer to
 the messengers: “ Let him be assured, (said he,)

“ that there are not yet come out so many of them

“ as

“ as there ought to be ; and tell him this openly
“ before all ; but since it is his opinion, I will lead
“ out this instant.” — Having said this, and having
made his supplications to the *GODS*, he led the army
out. As soon as he began to put forward with more
dispatch, he led the way, and they followed ; and
they did it in a very orderly manner, because they un-
derstood how to march in order, and had been exer-
cised in it ; they did it with vigour and resolution, by
means of their emulation to each other, by having
inured their bodies to labour, and having all their
officers at the head of them ; and they did it with
pleasure, because they were wise ; for they knew
and had long since learned, that it was their safest
and easiest course, to close with the enemy ; espe-
cially when consisting of archers, of men armed
with javelins, and of horses. While they
were yet out of reach of the enemy’s weapons,
Cyrus gave out the word, which was this, *Jove our*
assistant and leader ! When the word came about to
him again, he began the usual *hymn*, to the youths
of *Jove*, *Castor*, and *Pollux*. They all with great
devotion accompanied him with a loud voice ; for
in such a circumstance they who fear the deities are
less in fear of men. When the hymn was over,
the alike-honoured marching with alacrity and per-
fect good discipline, and at the same time looked
round at each other, calling by their names those
that were on each hand of them, and those that
were the next behind them, and frequently crying
out,—

out,—Come on, friends! Come on, brave men!—they exhorted each other to follow. They that were behind hearing this, exhorted the foremost in returning to lead on with vigour and resolution. And *Cyrus* had an army full of spirit and of ardour, in the pursuit of honour; full of vigour, boldness, mutual exhortation, discretion, and obedience, which I think the most terrible to an enemy.

THOSE of the *Assyrians* who fought from their chariots in front before the rest, as soon as the *Persian* body was near and ready to close in with them, mounted their chariots and retreated to their own body. Their archers and their men armed with the javelin, and their flingers made the discharge of their weapons a good while before they could reach their enemy. As soon as the *Persians* came up upon these weapons, that had been thus discharged, *Cyrus* cried aloud,—“Now, my brave men! let some body distinguish himself and march quicker on! and transmit this order to the rest!”—They accordingly transmitted it. And some, out of zeal and ardour, and out of desire to close with the enemy, began to run. The whole *Phalanx* followed running. *Cyrus* himself forgetting his slower pace, led them on running, and cried out at the same time,—“Who follows! who is brave! who will first prostrate his man!”—They hearing this, cried out in the same manner; and as he first gave it out, so it ran through them all, Who will follow? Who is brave? In this disposition did the *Persians* close with the enemy.

The enemy were no longer able to stand them, but turned, and fled to the entrenchment; the *Persians* following up to the entrances of the intrenchment, laid many of them on the ground as they were pressing on upon each other, and leaping in after those that fell into the ditch they killed them, both men and horses promiscuously; for some of the chariots of the enemy were forced on in their flight, and fell in amongst the rest. The *Median* horse, observing these things, charged the enemy's horse, and they gave way before them. Then followed a pursuit both of horses and men, and a mighty slaughter of both. They who were within the *Assyrian* entrenchment, and were posted at the top of it, by reason of the dreadful spectacle before them, and of their terror, had neither ability nor skill to do execution with their arrows and javelins upon those that were making destruction of their people. And learning presently after, that some of the *Persians* had cut their way through, at the entrances of the entrenchment, they turned away and fled from the top of it. The *Assyrian* women, and those of their allies, some of them, such as had children, and some that were of the younger sort, seeing that they already began to fly in the camp, set up a clamour and run up and down in consternation, rending their cloaths, and tearing themselves, and begging of every one they met not to fly and abandon them, but to stand by their children, by them, and by each other. Here their
princes

princes themselves, with those they chiefly confided in, standing at the entrances of the entrenchment, and mounting to the top of it, fought themselves, and encouraged the rest. As soon as *Cyrus* knew how things stood, being afraid, lest, being but few, they should be but ill-treated by the great multitude of the enemy if they forced their way in, he gave out orders to retreat out of the reach of the enemy's weapons, and required their obedience in so doing. Here one might distinguish the alike-honoured, and such as were formed to due discipline; for they instantly obeyed, and transmitted the orders to the rest. When they were out of the reach of the enemy's weapons, they stood in their several stations much more regularly than a set of dancers; every one knowing with great exactness where he was to be.



CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

CYRUS.

By XENOPHON.

BOOK IV.

CYRUS waiting there for some considerable time with the army, and having made it appear that they were ready to fight if any would come out against them, since no body stirred, led off at the distance he thought proper, and they encamped.

THEN having placed his guards, and sent out his scouts, he placed himself in the midst, and calling his soldiers together he spoke to this effect:—"Men
" of *Persia*! I do in the first place give all possible
" praise to the Gods! I believe you all do the same;
" for we have obtained conquest and safety. Out of
" what we possess, therefore, it is our duty to make
" the gods our presents of gratitude and thanks in
" return

“ return of these things. After this I give praise to
“ you all! For the action that is passed has been
“ performed by you all. When I have made my
“ enquiry from the proper persons what each man
“ deserves, I will endeavour both in word and in
“ deed to pay every man his due.—With respect to
“ *Chryfantas*, indeed, who was the nearest centurion
“ to me, I need not enquire of others, but I know
“ myself how well he behaved. For he performed
“ all those other acts that I believe you all did; and
“ when I gave out orders to retreat, calling upon
“ him particularly by name, he who had his sword
“ held up to give his enemy a stroke obeyed me in
“ the instant, and forbearing to do what he was
“ about, performed my command. For he retreated
“ himself, and transmitted the order with the greatest
“ dispatch to others. So that he got his century
“ out of weapon’s cast before the enemy per-
“ ceived that we were retreating; before they ex-
“ tended their bows or threw their javelins; so that
“ he was himself unhurt, and kept his men unhurt
“ by this obedience: but there are others, (said he,)
“ that I see wounded. And when I have examined
“ at what time it was that they were wounded, I
“ will then declare my opinion concerning them.
“ *Chryfantas* I now reward with the command of a
“ thousand, as a man vigorous in action, prudent,
“ and able both to obey and command. And when
“ God shall grant us any farther advantage, neither
“ will I then forget him. — And I am desirous

“ too, (said he,) to give you all an advice: that you
“ would never lose the remembrance and the
“ consideration of what you now see by this battle;
“ that you may always have it settled in your minds
“ whether it is flight, or virtue rather, that preserves
“ the lives of men; whether they who readily engage
“ in action come off the better, or they who are back-
“ ward and unwilling, and that you may judge how
“ great a pleasure it is that victory affords. You may
“ now the better make a judgment of these things,
“ having had experience of them, and the affair hav-
“ ing been so lately transacted. And, (said he,) by
“ having the consideration of these things always pre-
“ sent in your minds, you will become the better
“ men. — Now, like discreet and worthy men, fa-
“ voured of heaven, take your suppers, make your
“ libations to the gods, begin your hymn, and be
“ observant of the word of command.”

THIS said, he mounted on his horse, and rode off. Then coming to *Cyaxares*, and having congratulated with him as was proper, having seen how things stood there, and having enquired whether *Cyaxares* had any further need of him, he rode back to his own army. *Cyrus's* men having taken their suppers, and placed their guards as was proper, went to rest.

THE *Assyrians*, upon their prince being killed, and together with him all the bravest of their men, were all in a desponding condition, and many of them fled from the camp in the night. Upon seeing these things, *Cræsus*, and their other allies, lost all courage,
for

for they were furrounded with difficulties on all sides; and what chiefly sunk the courage of them all was, that the principal nation of all that were in the army were entirely confounded in their opinions. So they quitted the camp, and went off in the night.

As soon as it was day, and that the camp appeared to be entirely abandoned, *Cyrus* immediately made the *Persians* march first into it. Great numbers of sheep and oxen had been left there by the enemy; and many waggons, full of abundance of valuable things. After this, the *Medes*, with *Cyaxares*, marched in, and there took their dinners. When they had dined, *Cyrus* called his centurions together, and spoke to this effect: — “ Friends, how many
“ valuable things have we, in my opinion, perfectly
“ thrown away, when the gods had delivered them
“ into our hands! for you yourselves see that the
“ enemy are flying for fear of us: And how can any
“ body think that they, who, when possessed of an
“ entrenched post, quitted it and fled, can stand,
“ and look us in the face upon fair ground? They
“ who did not stand before they had made trial of us,
“ how should such men stand after they are beaten,
“ and have been so ill treated by us? How should
“ the worst of those men incline to fight us, of whom
“ the best have been destroyed?” Upon this somebody said: “ Why do not we immediately pursue,
“ when the advantages we have are so evident?” *Cyrus* replied, “ Why, because we want horse; and
“ the best of the enemy, and such as it is most for
“ our

“ our purpose to take or to destroy, are retiring on
“ horseback ; and those that (with the help of the
“ gods,) we are able to put to flight, we are not able
“ to take in the pursuit.” — “ Why, then, said they,
“ do not you go to *Cyaxares*, and tell him these
“ things ?” To this he said, “ Come, therefore, all
“ of you along with me, that he may see we are all of
“ us of this opinion.” Upon this they all followed
him, and said what they thought was proper concern-
ing the things they desired.

CYAXARES, partly out of a sort of envy be-
cause they had begun the discourse upon the subject,
and partly, perhaps, because he thought it best for
him not to hazard another battle, (for he was indulg-
ing himself in pleasure, and observed that many of
the *Medes* were doing the same thing,) spoke there-
fore in this manner : — “ I am convinced, *Cyrus*, by
“ the testimony both of my eyes and ears, that you,
“ *Persians*, of all mankind, study the most how to
“ keep yourselves from being impotent, and insa-
“ tiable in any kind of pleasure. But my opinion is,
“ that it is by much the most advantageous thing to
“ be mastered of ones self in the greatest pleasure of
“ all ; and what is there that gives men greater plea-
“ sure than the good fortune that has now befallen
“ us ? Therefore, since we have that good fortune,
“ if we take care to preserve it with discretion and
“ temper, perhaps we may, without hazard, grow
“ old in happiness ; but if we use it greedily and in-
“ satiablely, and endeavour to pursue one piece of
“ good

“ good fortune after another, take care lest we suffer
“ the same fate that they say many people do at sea,
“ who, by means of their having been once fortunate,
“ will never cease repeating their voyages till they
“ are lost; and as they say many do, who, having ob-
“ tained one victory, and aiming at more, have lost
“ the first. If, indeed, the enemy, who are fled, were
“ fewer than we, perhaps we might pursue those with
“ safety, but consider what part of them it was that
“ our whole number fought and conquered, the rest
“ were out of the action; and, unless we force them
“ to fight, are going their ways, meanly and igno-
“ rantly, without knowing their own strength or ours.
“ If they shall find that they are not less in danger
“ in retreating, than they are in standing us, how can
“ it happen otherwise than that we shall force them,
“ even against their wills to be brave? For be as-
“ sured that you are not more desirous to seize their
“ wives and children, than they are to preserve them:
“ And consider even swine, that they, though many
“ in number, betake themselves to flight, together
“ with their young, as soon as they are discovered;
“ but if any man pursue one of their little ones, the
“ sow, though she be single, does not continue her
“ flight, but attacks the pursuer that attempts to take
“ it. Now these men, upon this late occasion, had
“ shut themselves up in an entrenchment, and let
“ themselves be parcelled out by us in such a manner,
“ as put it into our power to engage as many of them
“ as we pleased; but if we march up to them in an
“ open

“ open country, and they shall have learnt to divide
“ and extend themselves, so that part of them shall
“ oppose us in front, part upon one wing, and part
“ upon another, and some in our rear; do you then
“ take care lest we, every one of us, stand in need of
“ many more hands and arms than we have. Be-
“ sides, (said he,) now that I observe the *Medes* to be
“ enjoying themselves, I should be very unwilling
“ to rouse them from their pleasures, and compel
“ them to throw themselves into danger.”

THEN *Cyrus*, in reply, said, “ You shall compel
“ no one. Do but allow those to follow me that are
“ willing to do it. Perhaps we may come back, and
“ bring you, and every one of these friends of yours,
“ what you will all be pleased with. We will not
“ pursue the main body of the enemy, for how
“ should we be able to lay our hands on them? But if
“ we meet with any thing straggling from the rest of
“ the army, or left behind, we will come and bring it
“ you. Consider, then, (said he,) that, when you
“ wanted us, we came a long journey to do you plea-
“ sure, it were but just, therefore, that you should
“ gratify us in return, that we may go home posses-
“ sed of something, and not all of us have our eye
“ to your treasures.” Here *Cyaxares* said, “ If any
“ one, indeed, would attend you of his own accord,
“ I should think myself obliged to you. Send with
“ me, then, one of these credible persons who shall
“ tell your message.” “ Come, (said he,) take which
“ of them you please.” — And there happened to be

that person present who had called himself his relation, and that he had kissed. *Cyrus*, therefore, immediately said, “I am contented with this man.” “Let him, therefore, (said he,) attend you; and do you, (said he,) “declare, that any one, who is willing, “may go with *Cyrus*.” So, taking this man with him, he went out. As soon he came out, *Cyrus* presently said to him, “Now you will make it appear “whether you spoke truth when you said you were “delighted with the sight of me.” — “When you “propose this matter, said the *Mede*, I will not abandon you.” — “And will not you, said *Cyrus*, yourself espouse it, and propose it to others?” Then, with an oath, “By *Jove*, (said he,) I will; and that “till I make you delighted with the sight of me!” Then did this messenger of *Cyaxares* discharge himself with zeal in all respects, by declaring his message to the *Medes*; and added this of himself: “That, for “his part, he would not desert this best and most excellent of men; and, what was above all, this man “who derived his original from the gods!”

WHILE *Cyrus* was transacting these affairs, there came messengers from the *Hyrceanians*, as if by divine appointment. The *Hyrceanians* are borderers upon the *Assyrians*; they are no great nation, and therefore subject to the *Assyrians*; they at that time, it seems, consisted of horse, and do so at this day: The *Assyrians* therefore used them as the *Lacedæmonians* do the people of *Sciros*, not sparing them in fatigues and dangers; and they at that time had commanded them

to make the rear-guard, being a thousand horse, that in case any danger pressed upon them in the rear, these men might have it fall upon them before it reached themselves. The *Hyrceanians* being to march behind all, had their waggons and domesticks in the rear; for most of the inhabitants of *Asia* are attended in their military expeditions by those that they live with at home, and the *Hyrceanians* at that time attended the service in that manner. Considering, therefore, with themselves what they suffered under the *Assyrians*; that their prince was now dead, and they beaten; that the army was now under great terror; that their allies were in a desponding condition, and were quitting them; upon these considerations this appeared to them to be a noble opportunity to revolt, if *Cyrus's* men would but fall upon the enemy in conjunction with them. Accordingly they sent messengers to *Cyrus*, for, since the battle, his fame was grown to the greatest height.

THE men that were sent told *Cyrus*, “ That they
“ had a just hatred to the *Assyrians*; that if he would
“ now march up to them, they themselves would be
“ his assistants, and lead him the way.” They gave him likewise accounts of the circumstances of the enemy, as men who were extremely desirous to animate him to this expedition. Then *Cyrus* asked them, “ Do you think,” (said he,) “ that we can get up
“ with them before they get into their fortresses?
“ For, (said he,) we take it to be a very great mis-
“ fortune that they fled without our knowledge.”

This he said, with intention to raise in them the greatest confidence possible in himself and his people. They replied, "That if he and his men, setting out early in the morning marched with expedition, they might come up with them even the next day; for by reason of their multitude, and the number of their carriages, they marched very slowly. And besides, (said they,) having had no rest the night before, they marched but a little way, and are now encamped." Then *Cyrus* said, "Have you any pledge, therefore, to give us of the truth of what you say?" "We will go, (said they,) this instant, and bring you hostages to-night. Do you only give us the security of your taking the gods to witness on your part, and give us your right-hand; that what we ourselves thus receive from you, we may carry to the rest of our people." Upon this he gave them the testimonials of his faith, that "If they accomplished what they said, he would treat them as faithful men and friends, and that they should not be of less consideration with him than the *Persians* or *Medes*." And at this day it may be observed, that the *Hyrceanians* are employed in considerable trusts; and are possessed of governments, as those of the *Persians* and *Medes* are that appear worthy of them.

WHEN they had supped, he led out the army while it was yet day; and he ordered the *Hyrceanians* to stay, that they might go with him. All the *Persians*, as one may naturally suppose, were immediately out.

Tygranes

Tygranes likewise with his army was the same: But of the *Medes*, some marched out, because, while they were yet boys, they had been friends to *Cyrus* while a boy; some, because by conversing with him in his huntings, they were much taken with his temper and manners; some out of gratitude, because they thought him the man who had relieved them when they were under very great terror; some, by his appearing already to be a man of great dignity and worth, had hopes that he would still grow farther so as to be prodigiously fortunate and great; some, because they were desirous to return him that friendship and service, that he had done them while he lived among the *Medes*; for out of his good nature he had performed several services with his grandfather for many of them; but most part of them, when they saw the *Hyrceanians*, and that it was discoursed abroad that they were to lead the way to mighty advantages, marched out in order to get something. So almost all the *Medes* marched, except those that were in the tent with *Cyaxares*; these remained, and the men that were under their command; the rest hastened out with zeal and pleasure, as not going by constraint, but voluntarily, and with design to oblige. When they were out he went to the *Medes*: He first commended them, and prayed, “That the GODS, being propitious both to them, “to himself, and to his people, would vouchsafe to “conduct them; and then that he himself might “be enabled to make them grateful returns of this

“their zeal!” In the last place he told them, that the foot should lead the way, and bid them follow with their horse.—And wherever they rested, or suspended their march, he ordered them to send off some people to him, that they might be informed of what was proper upon every occasion.—Upon this, he ordered the *Hyrceanians* to lead the way; and they asked him this question, “Why, (said they,) do not you stay till we bring our hostages, that you may march with the pledges of our fidelity in your hands?” He is said to have replied thus: “Why, (said he,) I consider that we have all of us pledges of your fidelity in our own hearts and hands; for we take ourselves to be so well provided, that, if you tell us truth, we are in a condition to do you service; and if you deceive us, we reckon that we stand upon such a foot as not to be ourselves in your power, but rather, if the gods so please, that you will be in ours. Since, then, (said he,) O *Hyrceanians*! you say that your people march the hindermost, as soon as you see them, signify to us that they are your people, that we may spare them.”—The *Hyrceanians*, hearing these things, led the way as he ordered. They admired his firmness of mind, and were no longer in fear either of the *Assyrians*, the *Lydians*, or their allies, but only, lest *Cyrus* should be convinced, that whether they were present or absent they were of little significance.

WHILE they were upon the march, and night was come on, a clear light from heaven is said to have appeared

appeared to *Cyrus*, and to the army; so that all were seized with a shivering at the divine appearance, but inspired with boldness against the enemy. As they marched without incumbrance and with dispatch, they probably rid abundance of ground, and at the dawn of day they were near the *Hyrceanian* army.— As soon as the messengers discovered them, they told *Cyrus*, that these were their people: “ They said, they “ knew them by their being the hindermost, and by “ their multitudes of fires.” Upon this, he sent one of the two messengers to them, ordering to tell them, “ If they were friends, immediately to meet “ him holding out their right hands.” He sent some of his own people with them, and bid them tell the *Hyrceanians*, “ That when he and his people “ saw them advancing, they themselves would do “ the same thing.” So one of the messengers staid with *Cyrus*, the other rode off to the *Hyrceanians*. While *Cyrus* was observing what the *Hyrceanians* would do, he made the army halt; and the chief of the *Medes* and *Tygranes* rode up to him and asked him what they were to do? He told them thus: “ This body that is near us is that of the *Hyrceanians*. “ One of their messengers is going to them, and “ some of our people with him, to tell them, if they “ are friends to meet us with their right hands held “ out; therefore, if they come in this manner, do “ you, every one in your several stations, receive “ them with your right hands as they come, and encourage them: If they take to their arms, or at-

“temp to fly, do you endeavour to let none of these
 “that we first meet with escape.” He gave these
 orders: and the *Hyrceanians* having heard the report
 of the messengers, were in great joy; and mounting
 their horses at a leap, came up as was told them with
 their right hands extended. The *Medes* and *Persians*
 on their side received them with their right hands,
 and encouraged them. Upon this *Cyrus* said, “*Hyr-*
 “*canians!* we now trust to you! “It is your part
 “to be in the same disposition towards us! But, in
 “the first place, (said he,) tell us this: How far from
 “hence is the place where the enemy’s commanders
 “are, and their main body?” They said in answer,
 “That it was little more than a parasang.”

UPON this occasion, *Cyrus* said: “Come on then!
 (said he,) “men of *Persia!* *Medes!* and you *Hyr-*
 “*canians!* for to you I now speak as to confederates
 “and sharers with us in all things. You ought all
 “now to be assured, that we are in such a circum-
 “stance, as must bring upon us the greatest severities
 “of fortune, if we act in it remissly and faintly.
 “For the enemy know for what purposes we come.
 “If we march to the enemy with vigour and spirit,
 “and charge home, you will see them, like slaves
 “that have run away and are discovered, some sup-
 “plicating for mercy, some flying, and some with-
 “out presence of mind enough to do either. For,
 “beaten as they are, they will see us come upon
 “them, and, thinking of our coming, will be sur-
 “prized, without order, and without being prepared

“ to fight. If therefore we desire henceforward to
“ take our meals, to pass our nights, and to spend the
“ rest of our lives with pleasure, do not let us give
“ them leisure to contrive or execute any thing that
“ may be for their own service, nor to know so
“ much as that we are men; but let them fancy that
“ all is shields, swords, cutlasses, and blows that falls
“ upon them. And do you, *Hyrceanians*! (said he,)
“ extending yourselves in front before us, march
“ first; that, by the appearance of your arms, we
“ may keep concealed as long as possible. When I
“ get up with the enemy’s army, do you, each of
“ you, leave with me a troop of horse, that I may
“ make use of them, in case of need, remaining in
“ the camp? Do you commanders, and your men
“ of most years, if you are wise, march together in
“ close order, lest meeting perhaps with a close body,
“ you be repulsed. Send out your younger men to
“ pursue; let these dispatch the enemy; for it is our
“ safest course at this time to leave as few of the enemy
“ alive as we can. But lest, what has happened to
“ many victors, a turn of fortune befall us, we ought
“ strictly to guard against turning to plunder; and
“ as he that does it can no longer be reckoned a man,
“ but a mere bearer of baggage, so any one that will
“ is free to use him as a slave. You ought to be
“ sensible that there is nothing more gainful than
“ victory; for the victor sweeps all away with him,
“ both men, women, and treasure, together with the
“ whole country. Keep your eye therefore intent only
“ upon

“ upon the preservation of victory, for even the
“ plunderer himself is comprehended in it. And
“ remember this too in your pursuit, that you return
“ again to me while it is yet day; for after it is dark,
“ we will give admittance to none.”

HAVING said this, he dismissed them, every one to his own century, and ordered them withal to go their ways and signify these things, every one to his chiefs of ten; for the chiefs of tens were all in front, so as to be able to hear; and he bid them order the chiefs of tens to give these directions, each to his own ten; upon this, the *Hyrceanians* led the way; he himself marched with the *Persians* in the center, and formed the horse as usual upon each wing. As soon as his army appeared, some of the enemy were astonished at the sight; some already discovered what it was; some told it about; some set up a clamour; some loosed their horses; some packed up their effects; some threw the arms from off the beasts of burthen, and some armed themselves; some mounted their horses; some bridled them; some helped the women up upon the waggons; some laid hold of what they had of greatest value, to save it; and some were found burying such kind of things; but most of them betook themselves to flight. It must needs be thought that they were taken up with these things, and many more of various kinds; excepting only that no body fought, but that they were destroyed without making any opposition. *Cræsus*, the king of the *Lydians*, it being the summer season, had sent away

away his women in the night in chariots before, that they might travel with the more ease in the cool; and he himself with his horse had followed after. The *Phrygian*, they say, who was prince of that *Phrygia* that lies upon the *Hellepont*, did the same. But as soon as they perceived the runaways, and that some of them came up with them, having got information of what had happened, they fled in the utmost haste. The kings of the *Capadocians*, and of the *Arabians* that were at hand, and without their corslets, thinking themselves secure, the *Hyrceanians* killed. But the greatest number of those that died upon this occasion were *Assyrians* and *Arabs*; for being in their own country, they were most remiss in marching off. The *Medes* and *Hyrceanians* performed such things in the pursuit, as are usual for men that have gained the victory. But *Cyrus* ordered the horse that had been left with him, to ride round the camp, and kill all such as they saw going off with their arms; and to those that remained he ordered it to be proclaimed, “That all soldiers of the enemy
“whatever, whether horsemen, targeteers, or archers,
“should bring their arms, all bound up together,
“away to him; and leave their horses at their tents,
“and that if any refused to do thus, he should
“immediately lose his head.” — Some with their swords drawn, stood round in order; they who had arms brought them away, and threw them down upon the place that he appointed them; and they that he ordered for that service, burnt them.

BUT

BUT *Cyrus* then reflecting that they were come without either meat or drink, and that without these it was impossible to carry on a war, or do any thing else; considering, therefore, how he might be supplied with these things the soonest, and in the best manner, it came into his mind, that it was absolutely necessary for all men that were engaged in military service, to have some certain person to take care of the tent; and who should provide all things necessary for the soldiers when they came in.—He judged, therefore, that of all people in the camp these were the most likely to be left behind, because of their being employed in packing up the baggage; so he ordered proclamation to be made, that all the officers of this kind should come to him, and where there was no such officer, that the oldest man of that tent should attend; he denounced all manner of severity to him that should disobey. But they all paid obedience instantly, having seen their masters do it before them. When they were present, he commanded all such as had necessaries in their tents for two months and upwards to sit down. When he had observed these, he again commanded all such as were provided for one month to do the same. Upon this almost all of them sat. When he found this, he spoke to them thus: “Come, then, good people, “all those of you who would avoid evil, and desire “to obtain any good from us, do you with readiness and zeal take care, that in each tent there be “prepared double the portion of meat and drink “that

“ that you used to provide each day for your masters
“ and their domesticks, and have all things else
“ ready that will contribute to furnish out a hand-
“ some entertainment; taking it for granted, that
“ the party conquering will be presently with you,
“ and will require to have all things necessary pro-
“ vided for them in plenty. Know, therefore, that
“ it may be of service to you to receive these men in
“ the most unexceptionable manner.” Having heard
these things, they executed the orders with the
greatest diligence. And having called the centurions
together, he spoke to this effect:

“ WE know, friends, that it is now in our power
“ to take our dinners first, before our allies who are
“ absent, and to apply the most exquisite meats and
“ drinks to our own use; but, in my opinion, this
“ dinner will not do us so much service as our ma-
“ king it appear that we are careful of our allies; nor
“ will this good entertainment add more to our own
“ strength, than we shall gain by making our confe-
“ derates zealous and hearty in our interest; if we
“ appear so negligent of those that are pursuing and
“ destroying our enemies, and fighting in case there
“ are any that oppose them, that they find we have
“ dined before. We know what they are doing;
“ how can it happen otherwise than that we shall ap-
“ pear vile in their sight, and lose our strength by
“ losing our allies? but to be careful that they who
“ are engaged in fatigues and dangers may have all
“ necessaries ready for them when they come in, this,
“ I say,

“ I say, is the treat that should more delight you than
“ the present gratification of your bellies. And
“ consider, (said he,) that if we were to act without
“ any respect to our friends, yet to cram with meat
“ and drink is not at all proper with regard to our-
“ selves, for we have a great many enemies in the
“ camp, loose and unconfined ; it is our business to
“ be upon our guard against them, and to keep a
“ guard upon them, that we may have people to do
“ all necessary things for us. Our horse are absent,
“ and give us cause to be in some concern and doubt
“ where they are, whether they are to come back to
“ us, or whether they are to stay. So that in my
“ opinion, friends, the meat and drink the most for
“ our purpose at present ought to be, what one can
“ imagine of most use to preserve us from being
“ drowsy and remiss. Yet farther, I know that there
“ are great treasures in the camp ; and I am not ig-
“ norant that it is in our power to appropriate to
“ ourselves what we please of these things that belong
“ in common to all that were jointly concerned with
“ us in taking them ; but I am of opinion that our
“ taking them to ourselves cannot be a greater gain
“ to us than by making ourselves appear to these men
“ to be just and honest, to purchase by that means
“ still a greater share in their affection than we have
“ yet obtained. And I am of opinion (said he) to give
“ up the distribution of these treasures to the *Medes*,
“ *Hyrceanians*, and *Tygranes*, when they come ; and
“ even to reckon it an advantage if they allot us the
“ smallest

“ smallest share ; for by means of their profit they
 “ will with the more pleasure remain with us ; and
 “ the taking a present advantage may, indeed, afford
 “ us short-lived riches, but they that give up this, ac-
 “ quire by it, in return, those things from whence
 “ riches flow ; and, in my opinion, this may procure
 “ much more lasting riches to us and ours. It was
 “ for this end, I think, that we practised at home that
 “ continence and command over ourselves in the
 “ concerns of the belly, and in matters of unreason-
 “ able profit, that we might be able, when occasion
 “ served, to make use of these qualities for our ad-
 “ vantage ; and upon what greater occasion, than the
 “ present one, we can shew the virtue of our instituti-
 “ on, I do not see.”

Thus he spoke ; and *Hystaspes*, a *Persian*, and one
 of the alike-honoured, spoke in favour of his opinion
 in this manner : “ It were, indeed, a sad case, *Cyrus*,
 “ if in hunting we can continually master ourselves,
 “ and abstain from food, in order to get possession of
 “ some beast, and perhaps of very little value ; and
 “ when we are in pursuit of all that is valuable in the
 “ world, we should not think it very unbecoming us
 “ to suffer ourselves to be stopped in our course by
 “ any of those things that have the command, indeed,
 “ of mean men, but are inferior and subservient to the
 “ deserving.” Thus spoke *Hystaspes* in support of
Cyrus’s opinion ; the rest approved it. Then *Cyrus*
 said : “ Well, then, since we agree in these matters,
 “ do you send out five men of each company, and
 “ such

“such as are the most diligent and careful ; let these
“march round, and those whom they find employed
“in providing the necessaries, let them commend;
“those whom they find negligent let them chastise,
“without sparing them, any more than if they them-
“selves were their masters.” These men executed
their orders.

By this time some of the *Medes* drove up several waggons, that had set out before from the camp, and that they had taken and turned back, loaden with things that the army was in want of. Some of them brought chariots that they had taken, some full of the most considerable women, who were, some of them, of the legitimate sort, others of them courtezans, that were conveyed up and down by these people upon the account of their beauty ; for to this day all the inhabitants of *Asia*, in time of war, attend the service, accompanied with what they value the most ; and say that they fight the better, when the things that are most dear to them are present ; for they say that they must, of necessity, defend these with zeal and ardour. Perhaps, indeed, it is so ; but perhaps they do it only to indulge their pleasure.

CYRUS, observing the things that were performed by the *Medes* and *Hyrceanians*, was almost angry with himself, and with those that were with him ; for the others seemed to outshine them at that time, and to be continually making some advantage or other, while they themselves stood quiet, in an idle station : For they that brought the prizes, after shew-
ing

ing them to *Cyrus*, rode off again in pursuit of others, for they said that they were ordered so to do by their commanders. *Cyrus*, though nettled at this, yet ordered the things away to a particular station; then calling the centurions again together, and standing in a place where what he said might be heard, he spoke thus: “I believe, friends, we are all convinced, that
“if we had had the taking of these things that have
“just now appeared before us, all the *Persians* in
“general would have been great gainers, and we,
“probably, the greatest, who had been personally
“concerned in the action. But how we, who are not
“able of ourselves to acquire these things, can possibly
“get them into our possession, I do not yet see, un-
“less the *Persians* procure a body of horse of their
“own; for you observe, (said he,) that we *Persians*
“are possessed of arms that are proper to repel ene-
“mies that will close with us, but, when they are once
“repulsed, what horsemen, archers, targetteers, or
“dartsmen, while we are without horse, can we pos-
“sibly take or destroy in their flight? Who would
“fear to annoy us, whether archers, dartsmen,
“or horse, when they know very well that
“there is no more danger of receiving any hurt
“from us, than from trees that grow fixed in
“the ground? If these things are thus, is it not
“plain that the horsemen now with us reckon all
“things that fall into our hands not less theirs than
“ours? Nay, perhaps, even more. Upon this
“foot therefore do things now necessarily stand.

“ But if we get a body of horse not inferior to them-
“ selves, is it not evident to you all that we shall
“ be able, without them, to perform the same things
“ against the enemy that we now do with them?
“ and that we shall have them in a more humble dispo-
“ sition towards us? For when they have a mind
“ either to go or stay, it will be of less concern to us,
“ if we are of ourselves sufficient without them.
“ But be this as it will, yet no one, I believe, will be
“ of a contrary opinion to me in this, that for the
“ *Persians* to have a body of horse of their own,
“ is not a matter that is entirely indifferent.—But
“ then, perhaps, you are considering how this can
“ be brought about.—Supposing then that we incline
“ to constitute a body of horse, let us examine
“ what it is we have, and what it is we want. Here
“ are horses in great number that are left in the
“ camp; and there are bridles to manage them,
“ and all other things that are proper for the use of
“ such as keep horses. And we have likewise
“ the things that are proper for the use of
“ a horseman himself; corselets for the defence of
“ his body, and lances that we may either use in
“ throwing or at hand. What then remains? It is
“ plain we must have men. And these we have
“ more certainly than any thing; for there is no-
“ thing so much belongs to us as we do to ourselves.—
“ But perhaps some body will say, that we do not
“ understand it.—Nor, by *Jove*! have any of those
“ who understand it now, attained the skill before
“ they learned it.—But they learned it, some body
“ may

“ may say, when they were boys.—And have boys
“ the better faculty to learn things, that are told
“ them, or shewn them, or have men? And when
“ they have once learned, which of them have bodies
“ the most able to undergo labour, boys or men?
“ Then, we have that leisure for learning, that
“ neither boys have, nor other men. For we have
“ neither the use of the bow to learn as boys have;
“ for we know it already; nor throwing of the
“ javelin, for we know that too; nor have we that
“ continual employment that other men have, some
“ in agriculture, some in trades, and some in other
“ particular affairs. We have not only leisure to
“ practise military affairs, but we are under a ne-
“ cessity of doing it. Nor is this, as many other
“ military matters are, a thing of difficulty, as well
“ as of use; for is it not pleasanter upon the road
“ to be on horseback, than to travel on foot? and
“ where dispatch is required is it not a pleasure, to
“ get quickly to a friend, when there is occasion?
“ or readily to overtake either a man or a beast in
“ the pursuit? And is it not a convenience, that
“ whatever arms are proper to be carried, the
“ horse helps to carry them? For to have arms and
“ to carry them is the same thing. And as to what one
“ may have most reason to fear, that we may perhaps
“ be obliged to come to action on horseback, before
“ we are yet well skilled in the work; and that we
“ may become neither able footmen, nor able horse-
“ men; even this is not a difficulty that is uncon-

“querable. For whenever we please, we are immediately at liberty to fight on foot; nor shall we unlearn any thing of our skill as footmen by learning to ride.

Thus *Cyrus* spoke; and *Chryfantas*, speaking in favour of the same opinion, said thus: “I am, (said he,) “so desirous of learning to ride, that I reckon “were I a horseman I should be a flying man. As “matters now stand, were I to run a race with a man, “I should be contented if I got but by the head “before him; or if I saw a beast running by, I “would be contented, if upon the stretch, I could “contrive to reach him with my bow or javelin “before he got at a great distance from me. But if “I become a horseman, I shall be able to kill any “man though at as great a distance as I can see; “and in the pursuit of beasts, some I shall be able to “come up with and to strike them at hand, others “I shall be able to reach with my javelin, as well as “if they stood still; for if two creatures are swift “alike they continue as near to each other as if they “stood still. Of all creatures, they, that, I think, “raise my envy and emulation the most, are the “centaurs, if there were ever any. Creatures that, “with the understanding of man, are capable of “contrivance and forecast; who with their hands “can effect what is proper to be done; and have “the swiftness and strength of the horse, so as to “overtake what flies them, and overturn what opposes them. So, when I am a horseman, all these

“powers

“ powers do I carry with me. I shall be able to
“ contrive things with my understanding, as a man ;
“ my arms I shall carry in my hands; with my
“ horse I shall pursue; and by my horse’s strength
“ overturn what opposes me. But then I shall not
“ be bound down and grow to him, like the cen-
“ taur; and this is certainly better than to be in-
“ corporated with him. For centaurs, I fancy,
“ must be at a loss both how to use several con-
“ veniencies discovered by men, and how to enjoy
“ several pleasures natural to horses. But I, when
“ I have learned to ride, and am mounted on
| “ horseback, shall perform the part of a centaur;
“ and when I dismount, I shall take my meals,
“ cloath myself, and take my rest, as other men
“ do. So that what am I but a centaur, free
“ and separable when I please; and then, when
“ I please, of a piece again? Besides, I have this
“ advantage of the centaur, (said he,) that he saw
“ but with two eyes, and heard but with two ears;
“ but I shall see with four eyes, and receive notice of
“ things by means of four ears. For the horse,
“ they say, discovers to men many things that he
“ before-hand sees with his own eyes; and gives
“ them notice of many things that he before-hand
“ hears with his own ears. Write me down there-
“ fore, as one of those that are desirous to serve on
“ horseback.”—“ And us too, said all the others.”—
Upon this *Cyrus* said, “ Since then, (said he,) we
“ are so much of this opinion; what if we should

“ make it a law, that it should be scandalous for any
 “ of those amongst us, that I furnish with horses, to
 “ be seen travelling on foot, let the way he is to go
 “ be little or great; that men may imagine we are
 “ entirely centaurs?”—This proposal he made them,
 and they all gave their consent. So that at this day
 the *Persians* still put it in practice, and none of the
 considerable men among the *Persians* are ever to be
 seen travelling on foot of their own good will.

THESE men were employed in these discourses;
 but when the middle of the day was past, the *Median*
 horse and the *Hyrceanians* rode up and brought with
 them both horses and men that they had taken; for
 as many as delivered their arms they did not kill.
 When they rode up, *Cyrus* first asked them, whether
 they were all come safe? When they said they were,
 he then asked what they had done? And they related
 the things that they had performed, and gave magni-
 ficent accounts how manfully they had acted in every
 particular. He hearkened with pleasure to all that
 they had a mind to tell him, and then commended
 them thus: “ It is apparent how well you have be-
 “ haved, for you are now in appearance taller, more
 “ beautiful, and more terrible than before!” He
 then asked them, “ How far they had gone? and
 “ whether the country was inhabited?” They told
 him, “ They had gone a great way; that the whole
 “ country was inhabited, and full of sheep, goats,
 “ oxen, and horses, corn, and all valuable things.”
 “ There are two things, then, (said he,) that we are
 “ to

“ to take care of; how to subject the people that are
 “ the possessors of these things; and how to make
 “ them remain upon the place. For a country well
 “ inhabited is a very valuable acquisition; but one
 “ destitute of men is destitute of every thing that is
 “ good. All those that stood to their defence, (said
 he,) “ I know you have killed, and you did right;
 “ for this is of the greatest importance for the main-
 “ taining of a victory. Those that delivered their
 “ arms you have taken; and if we dismiss them, we
 “ should do what, I say, would turn to our advan-
 “ tage: For, first, we shall not be under a necessity
 “ of being upon our guard against them, nor of keep-
 “ ing a guard upon them, nor of furnishing them
 “ with provisions; for certainly we should not be for
 “ starving them: Then, by dismissing them, we shall
 “ have the greater number of captives; for if we
 “ conquer the country, all will be our captives that
 “ inhabit it, and the rest, when they see these living
 “ and set at liberty, will the more readily remain,
 “ and rather chuse to submit than to continue in
 “ war.—This is my judgment; but if any other
 “ person sees what is better, let him say it.”—But
 they, having heard these things, agreed to act ac-
 cordingly,

So *Cyrus*, having called for the prisoners, spoke
 thus: “ Friends, (said he,) by your present submis-
 “ sion you have preserved your lives; and for the
 “ future, if you behave in the same manner, no ill
 “ whatever shall befall you, unless it be, that the same

“ person will not govern you that governed you be-
 “ fore: But you shall inhabit the same houses; and
 “ you shall cultivate the same territory; and you
 “ shall live with the same wives; and you shall rule
 “ your children as you do now; but you shall neither
 “ make war upon us, nor upon any one else; and if
 “ any other injure you, we will fight for you. And
 “ that nobody may order you out upon military ser-
 “ vice, bring your arms to us. And to those that
 “ bring them, peace! and what I promise shall be
 “ made good to them without fraud: But we will
 “ make war upon those that refuse to lay their arms
 “ aside. But then, if any of you shall come to us,
 “ and shall appear to do any action, or to give any
 “ information in friendship and good-will to us, him
 “ will we treat as a benefactor and a friend, not as
 “ a slave. Let these things, therefore, be known to
 “ you, and do you tell them to the rest. And if
 “ there are any that will not comply with us in these
 “ things that we require, do you lead us the way to
 “ them, that we may make ourselves masters of them,
 “ and they not masters of us.” Thus he spoke.—
 They paid him their adoration, and said that they
 would perform what he enjoined them.

WHEN they were gone, *Cyrus* said, “ It is time,
 “ O *Medes* and *Armenians*! for all of us to take our
 “ suppers; and all things proper have been made
 “ ready for you in the best manner that we were able.
 “ Go your ways then, and send us half the bread that
 “ has been made, for there has enough been made for

“ us

“ us both ; but send us neither meat with it nor any
“ thing to drink, for of these we have enough with
“ us already provided ; and do you, (said he,) O *Hyr-*
“ *carians* ! conduct them to the tents ; the com-
“ manders to the greatest, (for you know which they
“ are,) and the others as you think most proper :
“ And do you likewise take your suppers, where it
“ is most agreeable to you ; for the tents are un-
“ touched, and all things are provided there for you
“ as well as for the others. But let this be known
“ to you both, that we undertake to keep the night-
“ watch without. Do you look to what passes in
“ the tents, and place your arms within ; for they
“ who are in the tents are not yet our friends.”

THE *Medes* then, and *Tygranes*’s people bathed themselves, (for all matters for that purpose had been provided,) and having changed their cloaths, took their suppers ; and their horses were provided with all necessaries. Half their bread they sent to the *Persians*, but sent no meat with it, nor wine, thinking that *Cyrus*’s people were provided with those things, because he had said that they had them in plenty ; but what *Cyrus* meant was, that the meat they had with their bread was hunger, and their drink was the water of a stream that ran by. *Cyrus*, therefore, having given the *Persians* their supper, sent many of them out as soon as it was dark, in fives and tens, and commanded them to march round the camp privately ; judging that they would be a guard to it, if any enemy came upon them from without ; and that

that if any one ran off with treasure of any kind, they might take him. And it happened so; for there were many that ran away, and many were taken. *Cyrus* allowed the treasures to those that seized them, but ordered them to kill the men. So that afterwards, even though one desired it, one could not easily meet with a man that was going any where in the night. And thus the *Persians* employed themselves: But the *Medes* drank and feasted, entertained themselves with the music of flutes, and indulged themselves in all kinds of delight and pleasure; for a multitude of things of that sort had been taken. So that they who were upon the watch were in no want of work.

But *Cyaxares*, king of the *Medes*, that night that *Cyrus* marched away, was drunk himself, as well as those that were of his company in the tent, it being upon an occasion of happy success. And he thought that the rest of the *Medes*, excepting only some few, were still remaining in the camp, because he heard a mighty noise and uproar; for the servants of the *Medes*, upon their masters being gone, drank without ceasing, and were very tumultuous; and the more because they had taken from the *Assyrian* army great quantities of wine, and abundance of other such things. As soon as the day came, and that nobody attended at his doors but they that had supped with him, and that he heard that the camp was left empty by the *Medes* and by their horse, and that he himself, when he went out, saw that this was really the case,

he

he then broke out into a rage at their going away and leaving him destitute. And as he is said to have been very violent and rash, he immediately commanded one of those about him to take some horse with him, and march with the utmost dispatch to the army that was with *Cyrus*, and to say thus: "I was of opinion, "*Cyrus*, that even you would not have engaged in "*councils so imprudent and ill for me; or if Cyrus* "*might have thought fit to do so, I did not think* "*that you, Medes, would have consented to leave me* "*thus destitute. Now, therefore, whether Cyrus will* "*or will not, do you come away to me with the ut-* "*most dispatch,"*—This message he sent them; but he that received these orders to march, said, "But "*how, O sovereign, shall I be able to find them?"* "*And how should Cyrus, (said he,) find those that* "*he marched after?"* "*Truly, because, (said he,) as* "*I hear, certain Hyrcanians, who belonged to the* "*enemy, and who had revolted and came thither,* "*went and led them the way."* *Cyaxares* hearing this, was in a much greater rage at *Cyrus* for not having told it him; and he sent in much more haste to the *Medes*, that he might strip him of his forces; he ordered them back with more vehemence than before, and with threats. The messenger likewise he threatened in case he did not discharge himself with vigour in the delivery of his message.

THE person that was thus sent marched with about a hundred of his own horse, and was grieved that he himself had not gone with *Cyrus*. As they proceeded
in

in their march, the roads dividing, they lost their way in a beaten track and could not get to *Cyrus's* army, till meeting with some *Assyrians* that were retiring, they forced them to be their guides, and by this means getting sight of their fires they got up with them about midnight. When they were got to the army, the guards, as was ordered them by *Cyrus*, did not admit them before day.

AND when day appeared, *Cyrus* calling to him the mages, commanded to choofe out what was due to the gods, upon the occasion of fuch advantages as they had obtained. These men employed themselves accordingly. — He having summoned the alike-honoured, spoke to them thus: “ My friends! God is
“ pleased to lay many advantages before us, but we,
“ O *Persians!* are at present but few in number, to secure to ourselves the possession of them; for the
“ things that we have already gained, unless we secure them by a guard, will fall again into the
“ power of others; and if we leave some of ourselves as guards to secure the things that are already in our power, we shall immediately be found
“ to have no manner of strength remaining. My
“ opinion is, therefore, that some one among you
“ should go as soon as possible to the *Persians*, acquaint them with what I say, and bid them send an
“ army as soon as possibly they can, if the *Persians*
“ desire that the dominion of *Asia*, and the revenues
“ that arise from it, should belong to them. Go,
“ therefore, (said he,) you who are the oldest man,
“ and,

“ and, when you arrive, say thus, That whatever sol-
 “ diers they send, when they come to me, it shall be
 “ my care to maintain. You see all the advantages
 “ that we have gained; conceal no part of them.
 “ What part of these things it will be handsome and
 “ just for me to send to the gods, ask of my father;
 “ what to the public, ask of the magistrates. Let
 “ them send people to see what we do, and to ac-
 “ quaint them with what we desire from them.—Do
 “ you, (said he,) make yourself ready, and take your
 “ company to attend you.”

AFTER this he called the *Medes*, and with them
Cyaxares's messenger appeared, and, before all, de-
 clared *Cyaxares's* anger to *Cyrus*, and his threats to
 the *Medes*; and, in conclusion, said, “ That he com-
 “ manded the *Medes* to come away, though *Cyrus*
 “ should incline to stay.” The *Medes*, upon hear-
 ing the messenger, were silent, not knowing how they
 should disobey his summons, and yet in fear how they
 should yield obedience to him upon his threats, espe-
 cially knowing the violence of the man. But *Cyrus*
 then spoke: “ I do not at all wonder, (said he,) O
 “ messenger, and you *Medes*, that *Cyaxares*, who had
 “ then seen a multitude of enemies, and knew not
 “ what we were doing, should be under concern both
 “ for us and for himself; but when he knows that a
 “ great many of the enemy are destroyed, and that
 “ they are all driven away before us, he will first
 “ cease to fear, and will then be convinced that he is
 “ not destitute at this time, when his friends are de-
 “ stroying

“stroying his enemies. But how is it possible that
 “we can deserve reproach for doing him service? and
 “that not of our own heads neither? for I prevailed
 “with him to allow me to march, and to take you
 “with me. It was not you, that from any desire of
 “your own to march, begged his leave to do it, and
 “so came hither; but it was upon orders from him-
 “self to go, given to every one of you that was not
 “averse to it. I am therefore very well satisfied that
 “this anger of his will be allayed by our successes,
 “and, when his fear ceases, will quite vanish. Now,
 “therefore, do you, messenger, take a little rest, since
 “you have undergone a great deal of fatigue. Let
 “us, O *Persians*! since we expect the enemy to be
 “with us either to fight, or to submit themselves,
 “keep ourselves in the best order; for while we are
 “observed to be so, it is probable we shall succeed
 “the better in what we desire. And do you, (said
 he,) “prince of the *Hyrceanians*, attend here, after you
 “have commanded the leaders of your men to call
 “them to arms.”

WHEN the *Hyrceanians* had done this, and came to
 him, *Cyrus* said, “It is a pleasure to me, O *Hyrceani-*
 “*an*! not only to perceive that you attend here, after
 “having given us marks of your friendship, but that
 “you appear to me to be a man of great ability. It
 “is evident that the same things are now alike ad-
 “vantageous to us both, for the *Assyrians* are ene-
 “mies to me, and are now more at enmity with you
 “than with myself; we must both of us, therefore,

“consult

“consult how to prevent any of our allies, that are
“at present with us, from falling off from us, and, if
“we can, how to acquire others. You have heard
“the *Mede* deliver his orders to recall their cavalry.
“If they leave us, how can we, that are foot, remain
“alone? You and I therefore must contrive, that
“this messenger, who recalls them, shall himself de-
“fire to stay with us. Do you, therefore, find out
“for him, and give him a tent where he may pass his
“time in the handsomest manner, and with all things
“convenient about him. I will endeavour to em-
“ploy him upon some business that will be more
“agreeable to him to do, than it will be to leave us.
“Do you discourse him upon the many advantages
“we hope all our friends will make, in case we are
“well supplied with every thing necessary, and, when
“you have done this, come again to me.” — The
Hyrceanian went and conducted the *Mede* to a tent;
and he that was going to the *Persians* attended, ready
prepared. *Cyrus* directed him to tell the *Persians* the
things he had before mentioned in his discourse to
him, and to deliver *Cyaxares* a letter. “But, (said
he,) “I have a mind to read you what I write, that
“being apprized of the matter, you may own it, if
“any body asks you about it.” — The contents of the
letter were thus :

CYRUS to CYAXARES.

“JOY and Happiness! — We have neither left
“you destitute, (for nobody, while they conquer
“their enemies, can be destitute of friends,) nor,
“when we left you, did we imagine that we brought
“you into danger; but at the greater distance we
“were from you, so much the more security did
“we reckon we procured you: for they that sit
“themselves down the nearest to their friends, are not
“the men that best afford their friends security; but
“they that drive their enemies at the greatest dis-
“tance, are the men that put their friends the most
“out of danger. Consider then what your conduct
“has been to me, in return of what mine has been to
“you, that you can yet blame me. I brought you
“friends and allies, not as many as you could per-
“suade, but as many as I was able. You gave me,
“while I was yet upon friendly ground, as many as
“I could persuade to follow me; and now, that I
“am in the enemy’s territory, you recall not every
“one that is willing to be gone, but all; at that
“time, therefore, I thought myself obliged both to
“yourself and them. But now you force me to
“leave you out, and to endeavour to make all my
“returns of gratitude and thanks to those that fol-
“lowed me; and yet I cannot act like you, but am
“now sending to the *Persians* for an army, and give
“orders that whatever numbers are sent me, if you
“should be in any want of them before they reach us,
“you

“ you are free to use them, not according to their
“ liking, but as you yourself please ; and, though I
“ am the younger man, yet I advise you not to take
“ away what you have once given, lest you meet with
“ ill-will, instead of thanks ; and when you would
“ have any one to come quickly to you, not to fend
“ for him with threats ; and when you talk of being
“ destitute, not to threaten a multitude, lest you
“ teach them not to mind you. — We will endeavour
“ to attend you, as soon as we have effected the things
“ that we judge to be of advantage both to you and
“ us. Health attend you !”

“ DELIVER him this letter, and whatever he asks
“ you upon the subject of these affairs, do you an-
“ swer conformably to what is here written. For
“ with respect to the *Persians*, I give you such orders
“ as are expressed in the letter.”—Having said thus
to him, and given him the letter, he dismissed him ;
enjoining him withal to use diligence ; as taking it
for granted, that it would be of great advantage to
him to be quickly back again.

AFTER this, he observed all the *Hyrceanians* and
Tygranes's men already armed. And the *Persians*
were likewise armed. At which time some of the
neighbouring people brought in horses and arms.
Such of the javelins as they were not themselves in
want of, he ordered them to throw upon the place,
where he had ordered others before ; and those,
whose business it was, he ordered to burn them.
But he commanded those who brought the horses

to stay and look to them, till he signified his intentions to them. Then calling to him the commanders of the horse, and those of the *Hyrceanians*, he spoke in this manner: — “ My friends and allies! do
“ not wonder, (said he,) that I call you frequently
“ together; for our present circumstances are new
“ to us; many things are yet in disorder; and things
“ that are in disorder must of necessity give us
“ trouble till they are settled in their proper places.
“ We have now in our power many treasures, as
“ well as men captive; and by our not knowing
“ which of these belong to each of us, and by
“ their not knowing who is to each of them severally master, there are not many of them that we
“ see performing their proper parts; but almost all
“ of them are at a loss what to do. That things,
“ therefore, may not continue thus, do you distribute
“ them. Whoever is in possession of a tent fully
“ supplied with provisions of meat and drink,
“ with servants, carpets, and apparel, and with all
“ other things that a tent well accommodated for
“ military service is furnished with; here, there is
“ nothing further necessary than that the possessor
“ should understand that it is his part to take care of
“ these things as his own property. But where any
“ one is possessed of a tent where those things are
“ wanting, after you have discovered it upon examination, do you supply what falls short. For I
“ know there will be of many things more than
“ enough; because the enemy was possessed of every
“ thing

“ thing in greater proportion than suits our num-
“ bers. Besides there have been with me certain
“ stewards, belonging to the *Assyrian* king, and their
“ other great men, who have told me, that they had
“ by them sums of gold in coin, arising, as they said,
“ from certain tributary payments. Make procla-
“ mation, therefore, that these things be brought
“ to you where you sit, and denounce terror and
“ punishments to whosoever does not execute what
“ you command them. Do you receive these things
“ and distribute them : to the horsemen, double
“ payments ; to the foot, single ; that in case you
“ want any thing, you may have wherewithal to buy.
“ And have it presently proclaimed, that no body
“ injure the camp-market ; but that the sutlers and
“ tradesmen sell what each of them has for sale ; and
“ when they have disposed of these, that they fetch
“ more, that the camp may be supplied.”

THEY immediately had these things proclaimed.
But the *Medes* and *Hyrceanians* spoke in this manner :
“ And how can we, (said they,) distribute these
“ things, without you and your people ? ” *Cyrus* to
this question replied thus : “ Is this, then, friends !
(said he,) “ your opinion, that, whatever is to be
“ done, we must all of us attend upon it ? And
“ shall not I be thought sufficient by you to transact
“ any thing for you that may be proper, nor you
“ sufficient to transact for us ? By what other means
“ can we possibly create ourselves more trouble, and
“ do less business than by acting thus ? But you see,

(said he,) “ that we have been the guards that have
“ kept these things for you ; and you have reposed
“ a confidence in us, that they have been well and
“ faithfully guarded. Do you, on the other side,
“ distribute these things ; and we will repose a con-
“ fidence in you that they have been well and justly
“ distributed ; and upon other occasions we will
“ endeavour to perform some other public service.—
“ And now in the first place, you observe, how
“ many horses we have at present, and that others
“ are continually bringing to us : if we leave these
“ without riders they will be of no manner of use to
“ us, and will give us trouble to take care of them.
“ But if we set horsemen upon them, we shall be
“ freed from the trouble, and shall add to our
“ strength. If you have others that you would give
“ them to, with whom it would be more pleasing to
“ you to act with upon any occasion in war, than
“ with us, give them the horses. But if you would
“ rather have us for supporters and assistants, give
“ them to us. For when you pushed on before us
“ in the late service without us, you put us under
“ great apprehension, lest you should come by some
“ misfortune ; and you made us ashamed that we
“ were not at hand wherever you were. But if we
“ once get horses, we will follow you ; and if it be
“ thought of most service to engage on horseback, in
“ concert with you, we shall lose nothing of our ar-
“ dour and zeal ; but if it be thought most proper to
“ support you on foot, then to alight will be obvious
“ and

“and easy to us; we shall be ready at your hands on
“foot; and will contrive to find people to deliver
“our horses to.”

Thus he spoke: and they replied: “We have
“neither men to mount upon the horses, nor, if we
“had, would we come to any other determination,
“since you would have it thus. Take then, (said
they,) “the horses, and do as you think best.”—
“I receive them, (said he,) and may good fortune
“attend upon our becoming horsemen!—Do you
“divide the things that are in common. But first
“take out for the *GODS* whatever the *Mages* shall
“direct: and then take such things for *Cyaxares* as
“you think most acceptable to him.” They laughed
“and said, “That beautiful women then, were what
“should be chosen for him.”—“Chuse women then,
(said he,) “and whatever else you think proper:
“and when you have chosen for him, then do you,
“*Hyrceanians!* do all you can to give entire content
“to all these men that have voluntarily followed me.
“And you, O *Medes!* reward these our first allies in
“such a manner, as may convince them, that they
“took a right resolution when they became our
“friends; and out of the whole give a share to
“the messenger that is come from *Cyaxares*, both to
“himself, and the men that are with him, and exhort
“him to stay with us, as being my opinion, jointly
“with yours, that by means of his being better in-
“formed of every particular, he may represent to
“*Cyaxares* a full state of things. For the *Persians*,
(said he,) “that are with me, let what remains over

“ and above,, after you are all well provided for, be
 “ sufficient; for (said he) we have not been brought up
 “ in a nice delicate way, but in a coarse rustic manner;
 “ so that perhaps you may laugh at us, if there should
 “ happen to be any thing fine and magnificent left for
 “ our share. As I know very well, said he, we shall
 “ give you a great deal of laughter and diversion,
 “ when we are set on horseback; and so we shall do, I
 “ believe, (said he,) when we are thrown from off our
 “ horses to the ground.” — Upon this they went
 their ways to the distribution, laughing heartily at
 this new body of horse.

BUT he calling the centurions to him, ordered
 them to take the horses, the horse-furniture, and the
 men that were to take care of them; and after having
 numbered them, and drawn lots by centuries, to take
 each of them a like number. Cyrus himself ordered
 them to make proclamation, “That whatever slave
 “ there might be, either in the *Assyrian, Syrian, or*
 “ *Arabian* armies, whether he were *Mede, Persian,*
 “ *Bactrian, Carian, Cilician, or Greek, or of any o-*
 “ ther country, forced to serve, that he should ap-
 “ pear.” These men, hearing the proclamation, ap-
 peared joyfully before him in great numbers; and
 he, having chosen from amongst them the most per-
 sonable and lightly men, told them that they should
 now become free, and bear such arms as he would
 give them. To supply them with all necessaries, he
 said, should be his care; and bringing them imme-
 diately to the centurions, he put them under their
 care; and commanded them to give them shields,
 and

and a smaller sort of swords, that, being thus equipped, they might attend the horse; that they should take all necessaries for these men as well as for the *Persians* that were with him; that they themselves, with their croflets and lances, should always march on horseback; and he began it himself; and that over the foot of the alike-honoured they should each of them, out of the number of the alike-honoured, appoint a commander in his own stead. In these affairs were these men employed.

MEAN while, *Gobrias*, an *Assyrian*, and a man in years, arrived on horseback; attended by some cavalry, consisting of his own departments; and they were all provided with arms proper for horse. They that had been appointed to receive the arms bid them deliver their lances, that they might burn them as they had done others before; but *Gobrias* said, that he desired first to see *Cyrus*. Then they that attended this service left the other horsemen behind and conducted *Gobrias* to *Cyrus*. And as soon as he saw *Cyrus* he spoke thus: “My sovereign lord! I am by birth an *Assyrian*; I have a strong fortrefs in my possession; and have the command of a large territory. I furnished the *Assyrian* king with a thousand horse; and was very much his friend. But since he, who was an excellent man, has lost his life in the war against you, and that his son who is my greatest enemy now possesses the government, I come and throw myself at your feet as a suppliant! and give myself to you as a

O 4

“servant

“servant and assistant in the war! I beg you to be
“my revenger! I make you my son as far as it is
“possible. With respect to male issue I am child-
“less; for he, O sovereign! that was my only one,
“an excellent youth! who loved and honoured
“me to as great a degree as a son could do to make a
“father happy! him—did the present king (the late
“king, the father of the present, having sent for my
“son, as intending to give him his daughter, and I
“sent him away proud that I should see my son mar-
“ried to the daughter of the king) him—did the
“present king invite to hunt with him as with a
“friend. And upon a bear appearing in view, they
“both pursued. The present king having thrown
“his javelin miss’d his aim!—O! that it had not
“happened so!—And my son making his throw,—
“unhappy thing!—brought the bear to the ground!
“He was then enraged, but kept his envy concealed.
“But then again a lion falling in their way, he again
“missed; and that it should happen so to him I do
“not think at all wonderful; but my son again
“hitting his mark, killed the lion, and said I have
“twice thrown single javelins and brought the
“beasts both times to the ground. Upon this, the
“impious wretch contained his malice no longer;
“but snatching a lance from one of his followers,
“struck it into his breast, and took away the life
“of my dear and only son! Then I, miserable man!
“brought him away a corpse, instead of a bride-
“groom! and I, who am of these years, buried him,
“my

“ my excellent and beloved son, a youth but just
“ bearded!—His murderer, as if he had destroyed
“ an enemy, has never yet appeared to have had any
“ remorse; nor has he in amends for the vile action,
“ ever vouchsafed to pay any honour to him who
“ is now under the ground! His father, indeed, had
“ compassion, and plainly appeared to join in affliction
“ with me at this my misfortune! Therefore
“ had he lived I had never applied to you to his
“ prejudice; for I had received a great many instances
“ of friendship from him, and I served him.
“ But since the government is fallen to the murderer
“ of my son, I can never possibly bear him the least
“ good-will; nor can he, I know very well, ever
“ reckon me his friend; for he knows how I stand
“ affected towards him, how I, who lived with that
“ joy and satisfaction before, must now stand in this
“ destitute condition passing my old age in sorrow!
“ If you receive me therefore, and that I can have
“ the hopes of obtaining by your means a revenge
“ for my dear son! I shall think I arise again
“ to new life! I shall neither be ashamed to
“ live, nor, if I die, do I think that I shall end my
“ days with grief!”

Thus he spoke. And *Cyrus* replied; “ If you
“ make it appear, *Gobrias*! that you really are in
“ that disposition towards us that you express; I receive
“ you as our suppliant, and with the help of
“ the gods, I promise to revenge you on the
“ murderer! But tell me, said he, if we effect these
“ things

“ things for you, and allow you to hold your fortrefs,
 “ your territory, and your arms, and the power that
 “ you had before, what fervice will you do for us in
 “ return of these things?” He then said, “ My fortrefs
 “ I will yield you for your habitation whenever you
 “ please; the same tribute for my territory that I used
 “ to pay to him, I will pay to you; wherever you shall
 “ make war I will attend you in the service with
 “ the forces of my territory; and I have besides,
 (said he,) “ a maiden daughter, that I tenderly love,
 “ just of an age for marriage; one that I formerly
 “ reckoned I brought up as a wife for the person
 “ now reigning; but she herself has now begged me,
 “ with many tears and sighs, not to give her to the
 “ murderer of her brother; and I join with her in
 “ opinion: I here give you leave to deal with her
 “ as I appear to deal by you.” Then *Cyrus* said,
 “ Upon these terms, (said he,) with truth and sin-
 “ cerity do I give you my right hand, and accept of
 “ yours; let the gods be witnesses between us.”
 When these things had past, he bid *Gobrias* go, and
 keep his arms. And he asked him at what distance
 his habitation was? it being his intention to go thi-
 ther. He then said, “ If you march to-morrow
 “ morning you may quarter with us the next day.”
 So *Gobrias* went away and left a guide.

The *Medes* then came, after having delivered to
 the *Mages* such things as they had said were to be
 chosen for the gods. And they had chosen for *Cyrus*
 a most beautiful tent, a *Susian* woman that was said

to have been the most beautiful woman in all *Asia*, and two other women that were the finest fingers. And they chose the same things over again for *Cyaxares*. They had fully supplied themselves with all such things as they wanted, that they might be in want of nothing in the course of their service in the war; for there were all things in great abundance. The *Hyrceanians* took likewise whatever they wanted. And they made *Cyaxares*'s messenger an equal sharer with them. As many tents as were remaining over and above, they gave to *Cyrus*, that the *Persians* might have them. The money they said they would divide as soon as it was collected; and they divided it accordingly. These things did these men do and say. But *Cyrus* ordered such men to take and keep the things that belonged to *Cyaxares*, as he knew to be most intimate with him; “And all that you give
“ me, (said he,) I accept with pleasure; but he a-
“ mong you (said he) that is the most in want of
“ them, shall have the use of them.” A certain *Mede*, who was a lover of music, then said, “In the
“ evening, *Cyrus*, I heard those fingers that you now
“ have, and I heard them with pleasure; if you
“ would give me one of them, I believe it will be a
“ greater pleasure to me to attend the service of the
“ war, than to stay at home.” Then *Cyrus* said,
“ I give her you, and I think myself more obliged
“ to you for asking her of me, than you are to me
“ for having her; so very desirous am I to please
“ you all.” So then he asked for this woman and took her.



CYROPÆDIA:
OR, THE
INSTITUTION
OF
C R R U S.

By XENOPHON.

BOOK V.

CYRUS then calling to him *Araspes* the *Mede*, (he that had been his companion from a boy, to whom he gave the *Median* robe that he himself put off when he left *Astyages*, and departed for *Persia*,) commanded him to keep the woman and tent for him. This woman was wife of *Abrodatas*, king of the *Susians*. And when the camp of the *Assyrians* was taken, her husband was not in the camp, but was gone upon an embassy to the king of the *Bactrians*; the *Assyrians* had sent him to treat of an alliance between them, for he happened to have contracted a friendship with the king of the *Bactrians*. This woman, therefore, he ordered *Araspes* to keep, till such time as he took her himself. But *Araspes* having

having received his command, asked him this question:

“*CYRUS*, (said he,) have you seen this woman
“ that you bid me keep?” “ No, by *Jove*, (said he,)
“ I have not.”—“ But I did, (said he,) when we
“ chose her for you. Indeed, when we first entered
“ her tent, we did not know her, for she was sitting
“ upon the ground, with all her women-servants
“ round her, and was dressed in the same manner as
“ her servants were; but when we looked around,
“ being desirous to know which was the mistress,
“ she immediately appeared to excel all the others,
“ though she was sitting with a veil over her, and
“ looking down upon the ground. When we bid
“ her rise, she, and all the servants round her, rose.
“ Here then she excelled, first in stature, then in
“ strength, and grace, and beautiful shape; though
“ she was standing in a dejected posture, and tears
“ appeared to have fallen from her eyes, some upon
“ her cloaths, and some at her feet. As soon as the
“ eldest among us had said to her, take courage
“ woman; we have heard, that your husband is in-
“ deed an excellent man, but we now chuse you
“ out for a man, that, be it known to you, is not
“ inferior to him, either in person, in understanding,
“ or in power; but, as we think, if there be a man
“ in the world that deserves admiration, *Cyrus* does,
“ and to him henceforward you shall belong. As
“ soon as the woman heard this, she tore down her
“ robe, and set up a lamentable cry, and her servants
“ cried

“cried out at the same time with her. Upon this,
“most part of her face discovered itself, and her
“neck and hands appeared. And be it known to
“you, *Cyrus*, (said he,) that I, and the rest that saw
“her, all thought, that never yet was produced or
“born of mortals such a woman throughout all
“*Asia*. And by all means, (said he,) you likewise
“shall see her.”

THEN *Cyrus* said, “No, by *Jove*, not I; and much
“the less, if she be such a one as you say.”—“Why
“so?” (said the young man.)—“Because, (said he,)
“if upon hearing now from you that she’s handsome,
“I am persuaded to go and see her at a time that
“I have not much leisure, I am afraid that she will
“much more easily persuade me to come and see
“her again; and after that, perhaps, I may neglect
“what I am to do, and sit gazing at her.” The
young man then laughed, and said, “And do you
“think, *Cyrus*, that the beauty of a human creature
“can necessitate one, against one’s will, to act con-
“trary to what is best? If this were naturally so,
(said he,) “we should be all under the same neces-
“sity. You see, (said he,) how fire burns all people
“alike, for such is the nature of it; but of beau-
“ties, some inspire people with love, and some do
“not; one loves one, and another another; for it is
“a voluntary thing, and every one loves those that
“he pleases. A brother does not fall in love with
“a sister, but somebody else does; nor is a father in
“love with a daughter, but some other person is;
“fear,

“fear, and the law, is a sufficient bar to love. If,
“indeed, (said he,) the law should enjoin, that they
“who did not eat should not be hungry, and that
“they who did not drink should not be thirsty;
“that men should not be cold in the winter, nor
“hot in the summer; no law in the world could
“make men submit to these decisions, for by nature
“they are subject to these things. But love is a
“voluntary thing, and every one loves those that
“suit him, just as does his cloaths or his shoes.”
“How comes it to pass then, (said *Cyrus*,) if to love
“be a voluntary thing, that one cannot give it over
“when one will? For I have seen people (said he)
“in tears for grief, upon the account of love; slaves
“to those they were in love with, and yet thought
“slavery a very great evil before they were in love;
“giving away many things that they were never
“the better for parting with, wishing to be rid of
“love as they would of any other distemper, and
“yet not able to get rid of it, but bound down by
“it, as by a stronger tie of necessity, than if they
“were bound in iron chains! They give themselves
“up therefore to those they love, to serve them in
“many odd and unaccountable ways, yet with all
“their sufferings they never attempt making their
“escape, but keep continual watch upon their loves,
“lest they should escape from them.”

THE young man to this said, “There are people,
“said he, indeed, that do these things, but, said he,
“they are miserable wretches; and this I believe

“is

“ is the reason why they are always wishing them-
 “ selves dead, as being wretched and unhappy, and
 “ though there are ten thousand ways of parting
 “ with life, yet they don’t part with it. Just such
 “ wretches as these, are they that attempt thefts, and
 “ will not abstain from what belongs to others, but
 “ when they have plundered and stolen any thing,
 “ you see, (said he,) that you are the first that accuse
 “ the thief and the plunderer, as reckoning theft to
 “ be no such fatal necessary thing, and you do not
 “ pardon but punish it. So people that are beau-
 “ tiful do not necessitate others to love them, nor
 “ to covet what they ought not; but mean wretched
 “ men are impotent, I know, in all their passions,
 “ and then they accuse love. Men excellent and
 “ worthy, though they have inclinations both for
 “ gold, fine horses, and beautiful women, can yet
 “ with ease abstain from any of them, so as not to
 “ touch them contrary to right; I therefore, (said
 he,) “ who have seen this woman, and think her
 “ very beautiful, yet I am here attending upon you,
 “ and I am abroad on horseback, and in all other
 “ respects I discharge my duty.

“ BUT, by *Jove*! said *Cyrus*, perhaps you retired
 “ before the time that love naturally lays hold of a
 “ man. It is the nature of fire not immediately
 “ to burn the man that touches it, and wood does
 “ not immediately blaze out; yet still I am not
 “ willing either to meddle with fire, or to look at
 “ beautiful persons: nor do I advise you, *Araspes*,

“to let your eyes dwell long upon beauties; for
 “as fire burns those that touch it, beauties catch
 “hold of those that look at them, though at a distance,
 “and set them on fire with love.”

“BE easy, (said he,) *Cyrus*; though I look at
 “her without ceasing, I will not be so conquered,
 “as to do any thing that I ought not. You speak,
 (said he,) “very handsomely, guard her therefore,
 (said he,) “as I bid you, and be careful of her.
 “For, perhaps, this woman may be of service to
 “us upon some occasion or other.” And hav-
 ing discoursed thus, they parted.

THE young man, partly by seeing the woman to
 be extremely beautiful, and by being apprized of
 her worth and goodness, partly by waiting upon
 her and serving her, with intention to please her,
 and partly by his finding her not to be ungrateful
 in return, but that she took care, by her servants,
 that all things convenient should be provided for
 him when he came in, and that he should want
 nothing when he was ill; by all these means, he was
 made her captive in love; and, perhaps, what hap-
 pened to him in this case, was what need not to be
 wondered at.

THUS were these things transacted.

BUT *Cyrus* designing that both the *Medes* and
 allies should stay with him of their own accord,
 summoned together all the proper persons; and when
 they were met, spoke to this effect. “*Medes*, and all
 “you that are here present, I know very well that
 “you

“ you came with me not out of any desire of getting
“ money, nor with the thought of serving *Cyaxares*
“ by it; but you were willing to oblige me by it,
“ and in honour to me, you resolved to undertake a
“ march by night, and to embark yourselves in
“ dangers and hazards with me; and if I am not
“ very unjust, I must acknowledge myself indebted
“ to you for these things. But I do not think I am
“ yet able to make you a due return of them. This
“ I am not ashamed to say. But that I will make
“ you just returns, if you stay with me; this, be it
“ known to you, I should be ashamed to tell you;
“ for I should think that it would look as if I said
“ this only to make you the more willing to stay
“ with me. Instead of that therefore, I say this, if you
“ now go away in obedience to *Cyaxares*, yet will I
“ endeavour, if I act with success, to deal by you
“ in such a manner, as shall make you applaud me.
“ For my own part, I will not go, and the *Hyrca-*
“ *nians*, to whom I have given my oath and my
“ right-hand, I will stand by, I will not be caught
“ betraying them. And for *Gobrias*, who delivers
“ us up his fortrefs, his territory, and his whole
“ force, I will endeavour to bring it about, that he
“ shall not repent his journey to me; and, what is
“ above all, when the gods so evidently deliver all
“ these advantages into our hands, I ought to re-
“ nounce them, and be ashamed to make a rash retreat
“ and abandon all. Thus therefore, (said he,) will

“ I act; do you as you judge proper, and tell me
“ what your mind is :” Thus he spoke.

AND he, who before had said that he was related to *Cyrus*, replied, “ As for me, (said he,) O king!
“ for you I take to be as much by birth and nature
“ my king, as the particular bee in a hive is born the
“ leader of the bees: for that one they willingly
“ obey; where that remains, not one from thence
“ departs; that remove, not one of them is left
“ behind; so strong is the affection they are inspired
“ with to be governed by it. And men seem to me
“ to be almost exactly thus disposed towards you.
“ For when you left us, and went into *Persia*, what
“ *Mede*, either young or old, staid behind, and did
“ not follow you, till *Astyages* made us turn back?
“ When you set out from *Persia* to our assistance,
“ we again saw almost all your friends voluntarily
“ following you; and when you were desirous to
“ undertake the expedition hither, all the *Medes* wil-
“ lingly attended you; and we now stand so disposed,
“ as that, with you, though we are in an enemy’s
“ country, we have courage, and without you we are
“ afraid even to go home. Let the rest, therefore,
“ speak for themselves, and declare what they will
“ do. I *Cyrus*, and they that are under my com-
“ mand, will remain with you, and comforted with
“ the sight of you, and supplied by your bounty,
“ we will undergo any thing, and bear it with
“ bravery.”

UPON this, *Tygranes* spoke thus; “Do not at all
“wonder, (said he,) *Cyrus*, if I am silent; for my
“soul, (said he,) is not prepared for advising
“you, but for executing what you command.”

THEN the *Hyrceanian* said, “For my part, O
“*Medes*! if you now go away, I should say it were
“the pleasure of some deity not to suffer you to be
“highly fortunate and happy. For what human
“creature can determine for turning back when the
“enemies are flying? Or when they deliver
“their arms, would refuse to accept them? Or
“when they deliver up themselves, and all that be-
“longs to them, would refuse to receive them?
“Especially when we have such a leader, as, in my
“opinion, and I swear it to you by all the gods!
“is more pleased with doing us good, than with en-
“riching himself?” Upon this, the *Medes* all said
thus, “You, O *Cyrus*! have led us out, and do you,
“when you think it proper to retire, lead us back
“again with you.”

CYRUS having heard these things, made this
prayer:

“BUT do thou, greatest *Jove*! I beg thee, grant
“me to exceed in good offices, those that pay me
“such honour!”

UPON this, he ordered the rest to place their
guards, and attend to the care of themselves. But
the *Persians* he ordered to take possession of their
tents; the horsemen such as were proper for them,
and the foot such as were sufficient for the foot;

and he ordered things to be regulated, that they who were in the tents, dispatching the business there, should bring all necessaries to the *Persians* in their ranks, and see that the horses were taken care of, that the *Persians* might have no other work to do but the business of war. — This day they thus passed.

AND the next morning when they arose, they marched to join *Gobrias*. *Cyrus* marched on horseback, as did also the *Persian* horsemen, who were about two thousand. They who held the shields and the swords of these men followed after them, being equal to them in number; and the rest of the army marched in order of battle. He ordered every one to tell their new servants, that whoever of them should be seen either behind the rear-guard, or before the front, or should be caught on the outside of those that were in their ranks upon either wing, should be punished. On the second day, towards the evening, they reached the habitation of *Gobrias*. They saw it to be an exceeding strong fortress, and that all things were provided upon the walls proper for a vigorous defence, and they saw abundance of oxen and sheep brought under the fortifications. *Gobrias* then sending to *Cyrus*, bid him ride round, and see where the access was most easy, and send in to him some of those that he confided in, who having seen how things stood within, might give him an account of them. So *Cyrus*, desiring in reality to see if the fortress might be taken on any side, or whether

whether *Gobrias* might be discovered to be false, rode round on every side, but saw every part too strong to be approached. They that *Cyrus* sent in to *Gobrias*, brought him an account, that there was such plenty of all good things within, as could not (as they thought) not even in the age of a man, come to fail the people that were there. *Cyrus* was under concern about what all this might mean; but *Gobrias* himself came out to him, and brought out all his men; some carrying wine, some meal, and others driving oxen, sheep, hogs, and goats, and of every thing that was eatable; they brought sufficient to furnish a handsome supper for the whole army that was with *Cyrus*. They that were appointed to this service, made distribution of all these things, and they all supped. But *Gobrias*, when all his men were come out, bid *Cyrus* enter in the manner that he thought the most safe. *Cyrus*, therefore, sending in before certain people to view and search into things, and a force with them, then entered himself; and when he was got in, keeping the gates open, he summoned all his friends and the commanders that had attended him; and when they were come in, *Gobrias* producing cups of gold and vessels of various kinds, all manner of furniture and apparel, daricks without number, and magnificent things of all kinds, and at last bringing out his daughter (who was astonishingly beautiful and tall, but in affliction upon the death of her brother) spoke thus:

“*CYRUS*, all these treasures I give you, and
 “ this daughter of mine I intrust you with, to dis-
 “ pose of as you think fit; but we are both of us
 “ your supplicants. I, before, that you would be
 “ the revenger of my son; and she, now, that you
 “ would be the revenger of her brother.”

CYRUS to this said, “ I promised you then, that
 “ if you were not false to us, I would revenge you
 “ to the utmost of my power; and now that I find
 “ you true to us, I am under the obligation of that
 “ promise. And I now promise her, with the help
 “ of the gods, to perform it. These treasures (said
 he,) “ I accept, but give them to this your daugh-
 “ ter, and to the man that shall marry her. But I
 “ go off with one present from you, that I could not
 “ go off with more pleasure with the treasures of
 “ *Babylon*, where there are abundance; nor even
 “ with those of the whole world, were they to be
 “ exchanged for this, that you have now presented
 “ me with.”

GOBRIAS wondering what it should be, and
 suspecting that he meant his daughter, asked him
 thus, “ O *Cyrus*, (said he,) what is it?”

THEN *Cyrus* replied, “ *Gobrias*! (said he,) it is
 “ this. I believe there may be abundance of men,
 “ that would not be guilty either of impiety, in-
 “ justice, or falsehood; and yet because nobody will
 “ throw either treasures or power, or strong fortresses,
 “ or lovely children in their way, die before it comes
 “ to appear what they were. But you, by having
 “ now

“ now put into my hands both strong fortresses, and
“ riches of all kinds, your whole force and your
“ daughter, who is so valuable a possession, have
“ made me clearly appear to all men, to be one
“ that would neither be guilty of impiety towards
“ friends that receive and entertain me, nor of in-
“ justice for the sake of treasure, nor willingly false
“ to faith in compacts. This, therefore, be you
“ assured, I will not forget, while I am a just man,
“ and while, as such, I receive the applause of men,
“ but I will endeavour to make you returns of ho-
“ nour in all things great and noble; and do not be
“ afraid of wanting a husband for your daughter, and
“ such a one as shall be worthy of her; for I have
“ many excellent friends, and amongst them, who-
“ ever it is that marries her, whether he will have
“ either as much treasure as you have given, or a great
“ deal more, I am not able to say; but be assured,
“ that there are some of them, who for all the trea-
“ sures you have bestowed, do not upon that account
“ esteem you one jot the more. But they are at this
“ time my rivals, they supplicate all the gods, that
“ they may have an opportunity of shewing them-
“ selves, that they are not less faithful to their friends
“ than I am, that while alive they will never yield to
“ their enemies, unless some god should blast their
“ endeavours, and that for virtue and good reputa-
“ tion, they would not accept of all the treasures of
“ the *Syrians* and *Assyrians* added unto yours. Such
“ men, be you assured, are sitting here.”

GOBRIAS

GOBRIAS smiling at this, “By the gods! said he, “*Cyrus!* pray shew me where these men are, that I may beg one of them of you to be my son.” “Do not trouble yourself, said he, it will not be at all necessary for you to enquire that of me. If you will but attend us, you yourself will be able to shew them every one to any body else.”

AND having said this, he took *Gobrias* by the right hand, rose, went out, and brought out all that were with him; and, though *Gobrias* repeatedly desired him to take his supper within, yet he would not do it, but supped in the camp, and took *Gobrias* to sup with him. After he had lain himself down on a mat-trass, he asked him thus: “Tell me, said he, *Gobrias*, whether do you think that you, or we, here, have the greatest plenty of furniture for couches?” He replied, “By *Jove*, I know very well, that you have the furniture of this kind in greatest abundance, and couches too in greater number; and then your habitations are much larger than mine, for you have heaven and earth for a habitation, and couches you have, as many as there are places upon the earth, to lie on; and for their furniture, you do not only think that you have as much of it as there grows of wool upon the backs of sheep, but as much as there is of stubble and brushwood, that the mountains and plains produce.”

BUT *Gobrias* then supping with him for the first time, and observing the coarseness of the meats that were set before them, thought that they themselves
lived

lived in a much nobler manner than these people. But he afterwards considered their great temperance, for no disciplined *Persian* ever appeared struck with any sort of meats or drink, either by eagerness in his eyes, or by greediness, or by any such intenseness of mind as not to give the same attention to things, as if he were not taken up in eating. But as good horsemen, by keeping themselves easy and undisturbed on horseback, are able at the same time to see, to hear, and to speak what is proper; so they think, that while they are at their food, they ought to appear discreet and temperate; and to be much moved with any sort of meat, or drink, they take to be hoggish and brutal. He considered likewise their manner of converse, in asking each other such questions as were more agreeable to be asked than not; in jesting with each other in such a manner, as was more pleasing than if let alone; and of their sporting with each other, but so as to keep at the greatest distance from being abusive, or from doing any thing indecent and ugly, and from giving one another offence. But what seemed to him to be above all, was, that men engaged in military service, should think, that none of those engaged in the same dangers, should be served with greater plenty than others, but they reckoned it their noblest feast, to provide in the best manner for those that were to be their fellow combatants. And when *Gobrias* rose up to go to his house, he is reported to have said :

“ It

“ It is no longer a wonder to me, *Cyrus*, that we
 “ possess those fine vessels, gold, and rich habits, in
 “ greater abundance than you do, and that we are
 “ much less deserving than you are ; for we do our
 “ endeavours to obtain as many of these things as we
 “ can, and your endeavours are to make yourselves
 “ the most excellent men !” Thus he spoke, and
Cyrus said, “ Take care, *Gobrias*, to attend in the
 “ morning with your horse, ready in arms, that we
 “ may see your force, and at the same time that you
 “ may conduct us through your territory, that we
 “ may know what we are to reckon belonging to our
 “ friends, and what to our enemies.”

AND having thus discoursed, they parted, each retiring to his proper business.

WHEN day came, *Gobrias* attended with his horse, and led them the way. But *Cyrus*, as became a commander, was not only attentive to his present march, but as he advanced considered whether it was in his power, by any means to distress and weaken the enemy, and to strengthen themselves. Calling therefore the *Hyrceanians* and *Gobrias* to him, (for he judged that these understood best the things that he thought it necessary for him to be informed of,) “ My
 “ friends, (said he,) I do not think that I am in the
 “ wrong, when I consult with you upon the subject of
 “ this war, as with men that are faithful and true.
 “ For I find, that it is more your business, than mine,
 “ to take care that the *Assyrian* do not get the better of
 “ us : I, perhaps, though I fail in my undertaking
 “ here,

“ here, may yet have a farther resource; but if he
“ get the better, I see that all is lost for you. He
“ is indeed my enemy, but not out of any hatred he
“ bears me, but because he thinks it a damage to him-
“ self, that we should be considerable, and this was
“ the reason he made war upon us; but you he
“ hates, and by you he thinks himself unjustly dealt
“ with.” To this they both answered, “ That he
“ should proceed as he intended, and as concluding
“ that they were convinced of what he said, and under
“ the greatest care and concern for the turn that the
“ present state of their affairs might take.” Here
then he thus began: “ Tell me, (said he,) does the
“ *Assyrian* think that you are the only people at en-
“ mity with him, or do you know any body else that
“ is his enemy?” “ Yes, by *Jove*, said the *Hyrceanian*,
“ the *Cadusians* are his enemies in the highest degree,
“ and are a strong and numerous people. The *Sacians*
“ too, that are our borderers, and who have under-
“ gone a great many hardships under the *Assyrian*,
“ (for he endeavoured to subdue them as he did us.)”
“ Do not you think therefore, (said he,) that they
“ would both, with pleasure, fall upon the *Assyrian* in
“ conjunction with us?” “ With a great deal of plea-
“ sure, (said they,) if they could join us.” “ What
“ is there then between, (said he,) to hinder our join-
“ ing?” “ The *Assyrians*, (said they,) the very nation
“ that you are now marching through.”

AFTER *Cyrus* had heard this, “ Well, *Gobrias*, (said
“ he,) do not you charge this young man, that is now
“ established

“ established as king, with great pride, and insolence
 “ of temper?” “ Yes, (said *Gobrias*,) for I have suf-
 “ fered by him accordingly.” “ And has he then,
 “ (said *Cyrus*,) been so only to you? or has he been
 “ so to others besides?” “ By *Jove*, (said *Gobrias*,)
 “ to many others: But what need I mention the
 “ wrongs he has done to the inconsiderable! There’s
 “ one man abundantly more powerful than myself,
 “ whose son, being his companion, as mine was, and
 “ drinking with him at his own house, he took and
 “ castrated; because, as some say, his courtesan had
 “ commended him as a handsome man, and pro-
 “ nounced that woman happy that was to be his wife.
 “ But, as he himself now says, it was because he had
 “ made an attempt upon his courtesan. This man is
 “ now an eunuch, and since the death of his father,
 “ holds that government.” “ Do not you think,
 “ therefore, (said he,) that this man would see us
 “ with pleasure, if he thought we would support
 “ him?” “ I know it very well, (said *Gobrias*.) But
 “ to come at the sight of him, *Cyrus*, is a difficult
 “ matter.” “ How so?” (said *Cyrus*,) “ Because, if
 “ any one has a mind to join him, one must pass by
 “ *Babylon* itself.” “ And what difficulty then is
 “ there in this?” “ The difficulty, by *Jove*, (said
 “ *Gobrias*,) is, that the forces that belong to that
 “ place alone, I know to be much greater than those
 “ you have at present with you, and be assured, that
 “ the *Assyrians* are now less forward than before to
 “ bring you arms and horses, for this reason, that
 “ your

“ your force appears to be but little to those that have
“ had a view of it ; and the discourse of this has been
“ already much spread abroad among them. So it
“ seems to me, (said he,) to be best for us to be upon
“ our guard, and cautious as to our march.”

CYRUS, hearing this from *Gobrias*, spoke to him in this manner :

“ In my opinion, *Gobrias*, you say very well, when
“ you bid us take the safest course we can, with re-
“ spect to our march ; and therefore, upon considera-
“ tion, I am not able to find, that any other march is
“ safer for us than that to *Babylon* itself, if the prin-
“ cipal strength of the enemy lies there : for you
“ say they are very numerous ; and if they are in
“ heart, then I say they will be terrible to us. By not
“ seeing us, therefore, and by imagining that it is our
“ fear of them that keeps us from appearing, be af-
“ fured, (said he,) that they will be released from the
“ fear that has been upon them ; courage will spring
“ up in its stead, and a courage that will be so much
“ the greater, as they are the longer without seeing
“ us. If we march instantly up to them, we shall
“ find many of them lamenting for those that we have
“ killed, many still bound up, by reason of the wounds
“ they received from our people, and all of them still
“ well remembering the boldness of this army, as well
“ as their own misfortune and flight. And be assured,
“ *Gobrias* ! of this besides, that a multitude, when
“ they are in heart, raise in themselves such a cou-
“ rage, as nothing can withstand ; but when they are in
fear,

“ fear, they bring upon themselves such a terror, as is
“ the greater, and strikes upon them so much the
“ more, as they are the more in number. For it falls
“ upon them, increased by numerous stories of mis-
“ fortune ; and gathers to a head from many unhap-
“ py circumstances, and from multitudes of dejected
“ and astonished looks. So that it grows to such a
“ height, that it is no easy matter, either to suppress
“ it by any discourse, or to raise a spirit by leading
“ to the enemy, or to nurse up a courage, by retreat-
“ ing ; but the more you exhort them to confidence,
“ they imagine themselves to be in so much the more
“ dangerous circumstances. And now let us examine
“ strictly into this particular farther. And, indeed,
“ if victories, from henceforward, are acts to be per-
“ formed only by that party that can reckon the great-
“ est numbers, you are in the right to fear for us, and
“ we are in reality in dangerous circumstances. But
“ if engagements, as heretofore they have been, are
“ still decided by good combatants, you will not be
“ at all in the wrong to be of good heart ; for, with
“ the help of the gods, you will find more amongst
“ us that are forward to engage, than amongst them.
“ And that you may be still more in heart, consider
“ this ; that the enemies are at this time much weaker
“ than they were before they were beaten by us, and
“ still weaker than when they fled from us ; but we
“ are more in vigour since we have been victorious,
“ and stronger since you have joined us. For, do not
“ still think contemptuously of your people, now that
“ they

“ they are with us ; for be assured, *Gobrias*, that they
“ that attend the victorious follow with confidence :
“ Nor let this escape your notice, (said he,) that the
“ enemy is now at full liberty to see us, but we can-
“ not by any means make our appearance with
“ greater terror to them, than by our marching up
“ to them. As this therefore is my fixed opinion,
“ do you lead us directly the way to *Babylon*.”

So marching on they reached the boundaries of *Gobrias*'s territory upon the fourth day. When he was got into the enemy's country he took the foot to himself, and as many of the horse as he thought proper, and formed them ; the rest of the horse he sent out upon excursions : He ordered them to kill those that were in arms, but to bring the rest to him, together with whatever sheep or cattle they should take. He ordered out the *Persians* likewise upon this service with the others ; and many of them returned, after having got falls from their horses, but many of them brought off considerable booty. When the booty arrived, and that he had called together the commanders of the *Medes* and *Hyrceanians* together with the alike-honoured, he spoke thus :

“ *GOBRIDAS*, my friend, has entertained us all
“ with good things in great abundance ; therefore,
(said he,) “ after having taken out what is due to
“ the gods, and what will be sufficient for the army,
“ if we should give the remainder of the booty to
“ him, we should do a handsome thing, by making
“ it

“ it immediately appear, that we endeavour in be-
 “ nefits to exceed our benefactors.”

WHEN they had heard this, they all commended and applauded it, and one of them spoke thus: “ This
 “ we will do, *Cyrus*, (said he,) by all means ; for I
 “ believe, (said he,) that *Gobrias* took us for beg-
 “ garly people, because we came not with *Daricks* in
 “ abundance, and do not drink out of golden cups;
 “ but if we do this that you propose, he may then
 “ understand that it is possible to be generous even
 “ without gold.” “ Go then, (said he,) and having
 “ delivered to the Mages what is due to the gods,
 “ and taken what is sufficient for the army, call
 “ *Gobrias*, and give him the remainder.”

So these men, having taken as much as was proper, gave the rest to *Gobrias*. Upon this he marched on to *Babylon* itself, making the same disposition as when he fought. And the *Assyrians* declining to come out against him, *Cyrus* commanded *Gobrias* to ride on before, and to declare, that if the king was willing to come out, and fight for his territory, he would fight him ; but if he would not defend his territory, that then of necessity he was to submit to his conquerors. *Gobrias*, riding on as far it was safe, notified these things ; and the other sent out one to return him an answer in this manner:

“ *GOBRIAS*, your sovereign says to you thus:
 “ That I have killed your son, I do not repent ; but
 “ I repent that I have not killed you likewise. If
 “ you would fight, come hither upon the thirtieth
 “ day

“ day from hence ; we are at this time not at leisure,
“ for we are yet employed in our preparations.”

THEN *Gobrias* said, “ May that repentance never
“ quit you ; for it is plain I am a torment to you,
“ from the moment that this repentance takes place.

GOBRIAS brought back the message from the
Assyrian ; and *Cyrus* having heard it, drew off the
army, and calling *Gobrias* to him, “ Tell me, (said
he,) “ did not you say, that you thought a certain
“ person, who had been castrated by the *Assyrian*,
“ would take part with us ?” “ I think I know it
“ very well, (said he,) for he and I have often con-
“ ferred together with great freedom.” “ When
“ you think it proper, therefore, do you go to
“ him ; and in the first place you must manage so
“ as to know what he says upon the subject, and
“ when you have conferred with him, if you find
“ him inclined to be our friend, you must then con-
“ trive, that his friendship for us may be kept con-
“ cealed ; for no one can by any other means do
“ greater service to his friends in war, than by ap-
“ pearing to be their enemy ; nor can he by any
“ other means do greater mischief to his enemy,
“ than by appearing to be their friend.” “ I know
“ indeed, (said *Gobrias*,) that *Gadatas* would pay any
“ price to do some considerable mischief to the *As-*
“ *syrian* king ; but then we must consider what it is
“ that he can do.” “ Tell me, then, (said *Cyrus*,)
“ that fortress, that lies upon the frontier of this
“ country, and that you say was built as a barrier

“ and defence to it in war against the *Hyrceanians* and
 “ *Sacians*; do you think, (said he,) that the com-
 “ mander of it would admit the eunuch into it, if
 “ he came thither with his forces?” “ Certainly,
 (said *Gobrias*,) “ if he came unsuspected, as now he
 “ is.” “ Therefore, (said he,) he would stand the
 “ clearest from all suspicion, if I should fall upon
 “ the places that are in his possession, as intending
 “ to make myself master of them, and he should
 “ act with his forces against me; if I should take
 “ something of his, and he on the other side should
 “ take either some others of our people, or some of
 “ those messengers that I send to such people as you
 “ say are enemies to the *Assyrian*, and if the people
 “ so taken declare that they were going to get forces,
 “ and to fetch ladders for the attack of the fortrefs,
 “ and if the eunuch then pretend, that upon hearing
 “ these things he attended him with intention to give
 “ him an account of them.”——

THEN *Gobrias* said, “ If these things are thus
 “ transacted, I know very well that he would admit
 “ him, and would beg him to stay till you were
 “ gone.” And then, (said *Cyrus*,) if he were once
 “ got in, could not he give up the fortrefs into
 “ our hands?” “ Very probably, (said *Gobrias*,) if he
 “ prepared matters within, and you brought a con-
 “ siderable strength upon them from without.” “ Go
 “ then, (said he,) and after you have given him your
 “ instructions, and accomplished these matters, en-
 “ deavour to be here with us again; but as for his
 “ securi-

“ securities of our keeping faith with him, I desire
“ you would neither mention nor intimate to him
“ any greater than those that you yourself received
“ from us.”

UPON this *Gobrias* went his way. The eunuch seeing him, with great pleasure consented in every thing, and settled with him the things that were proper to be done.

AND when *Gobrias* brought back an account that the whole business of his errand was firmly settled and agreed with the eunuch, then the next day *Cyrus* fell in upon him. *Gadatas* defended himself against the attack; the place that *Cyrus* took was that that *Gadatas* had appointed; of the messengers that *Cyrus* sent, directing them before-hand which way they should go, some *Gadatas* suffered to escape, that they might bring forces and fetch ladders; but those that he took he put to the torture before a great many people, and when he had heard what they declared to be the business they went about, he immediately prepared all things, and marched in the night, as intending to go and give an account of it. To conclude, he was trusted, and he entered the fortress as an assistant, in the defence of it. For a while he concurred with the governor in all preparations as far as he was able; but when *Cyrus* came up he seized the fortress, making the prisoners he had taken from *Cyrus* his assistants in the work.

WHEN this was done, the eunuch *Gadatas*, having settled matters within, came out immediately to *Cyrus*,

and having paid him his adoration in the accustomed manner, he said: “Happiness! O *Cyrus*, and joy to you!” “I have it, (said he,) already; for, with the help of the gods! you not only bespeak joy to me, but you oblige me to rejoice; for be assured, (said he,) “I take it to be a thing of great importance to leave this place to my friends and allies in these parts. Your having of children, *Gadatas*, is what the *Assyrian*, it seems, has taken from you, but the power of acquiring friends he has not deprived you of; and be assured, that by this action you have made friends of us, who will endeavour, if we are able, to be as good supports to you, as if you had sons or posterity.”—Thus he spoke.

UPON this the *Hyrceanian*, who had just got notice of what had happened, ran to *Cyrus*, and taking him by the right hand said, “O how great a blessing, *Cyrus*, are you to your friends! what a debt of gratitude and thanks do you bring me under to the gods, for having united me to you!” “Go then presently, (said *Cyrus*,) and take possession of the place you are so pleased with me for, and dispose of it in such a manner as it may be of most advantage to your own nation, and to our other allies, but chiefly (said he) to *Gadatas* here, who has taken it and delivered it up to us.” “Therefore, (said the *Hyrceanian*,) when the *Cadusians*, the *Sacians*, and my countrymen are come, shall we call in this man too, that all we who are concerned may consult in common how we may make use of
“ this

“this fortrefs to the beſt advantage?” *Cyrus* applauded the propoſal, and when all that were concerned in the affair of this fortrefs were met, they jointly determined that it ſhould be kept by thoſe who had an advantage by its being in their intereſt, that it might be a bulwark and defence to them, and their rampart againſt the *Aſſyrians*.

WHEN this was done, the *Cadufians* engaged with much more readineſs and zeal in the ſervice, as did likewise the *Sacians* and *Hyrceanians*; and from that time, there was formed an army of *Cadufians*, conſiſting of twenty thouſand ſhield-men, and four thouſand horſe; of *Sacians*, an army conſiſting of ten thouſand bowmen on foot, and two thouſand on horſeback: the *Hyrceanians* ſent out all the foot that they were able, and filled up their horſe to the number of two thouſand. For moſt of their horſe were at firſt left behind, becauſe the *Cadufians* and *Sacians* were enemies to the *Aſſyrians*. And all the time that *Cyrus* lay employed about the regulating this fortrefs, many of the *Aſſyrians* in thoſe parts brought horſes, and many brought arms, being afraid of all their neighbours.

UPON this, *Gadatas* comes to *Cyrus*, and tells him, that there were meſſengers arrived, who told him, “That the *Aſſyrian*, when he was informed of what “had paſſed in the affair of the fortrefs, was extremely incenſed, and made preparations to fall “in upon his territory. Therefore, *Cyrus*, if you “would diſmiſs me, I would endeavour to ſave my
Q 4 places

“ places of strength; of the rest I make less account.” Then *Cyrus* said, “ If you set out now, when shall you be at home ?” And *Gadatas* said, “ I shall sup in my own territory the third day.” And do you think, (said he,) that you will find the *Assyrian* already there ?” “ I know very well, (said he,) “ that I shall, for he will make so much the more haste, as he thinks you to be at the greater distance.” “ And in how many days, (said *Cyrus*,) “ might I get thither with the army ?” To this *Gadatas* said, “ O my sovereign, you have a very good army, and you would not be able to reach my habitation in less than six or seven days.” “ Do you then, (said *Cyrus*,) go your ways as soon as you can, and I will march with all possible dispatch.”

GADATAS then went his way, and *Cyrus* called together all the commanders of his allies, and he seemed now to have a great many, and full of courage; and in their presence he spoke to this effect: “ Friends and allies ! *Gadatas* has performed such things as we all judge to be of very great value to us, and this before he has received the least advantage whatever at our hands. It is reported, that the *Assyrian* is now fallen in upon his territory; with design, as is evident, both to be revenged of him, because he thinks himself to have been highly injured by him, and perhaps he considers with-all, that if they that revolt to us receive no hurt or damage from him, and if they that take part with him, are destroyed by us, he must
“ probably

“ probably very soon have no body that will stand
“ by him. Therefore, friends ! we shall do, in my
“ opinion, a very handsome thing, if we yield our
“ assistance, with readiness and zeal, to *Gadatas*, a
“ man who has been our benefactor ; we should
“ besides do an act of justice, by discharging a debt of
“ gratitude ; and, in my opinion, we should, at the
“ same time, do what would be of advantage to
“ ourselves : for if we make it appear, that we en-
“ deavour to outdo in injuries, those that are injurious
“ and hurtful to us, and to exceed our benefactors
“ in good services, it is probable, that, by means of
“ such a conduct, many will be willing to be friends
“ to us, and no body will desire to be our enemy.
“ But if we appear neglectful of *Gadatas*, in the
“ name of all the gods ! with what arguments can
“ we persuade others to do us any kindnesses ? How
“ can we dare to commend ourselves ? and how can
“ any of us possibly look *Gadatas* in the face, if we
“ are outdone by him in good offices ? we who are
“ so many, by him who is a single man, and a man
“ in such circumstances.”

Thus he spoke, and they all highly approved it.—
“ Come on, then, (said he,) since you agree with me
“ in opinion. Let every man of us leave with the
“ carriages and with the beasts of burthen, all those
“ that are the properest to march with them, and let
“ *Gobrias* command and conduct them ; for he is
“ skilled in the roads, and able in every other respect.
“ Let us march with the best of our men and horse,
“ taking

“ taking necessaries with us for three days. And
“ the lighter and more frugal provision we make,
“ the pleasanter shall we dine and sup; and the
“ pleasanter shall we sleep on the days that follow
“ after. Now let our march be in this manner;
“ let *Chryfantas*, in the first place, lead those that
“ wear corselets, with all the centurions in front,
“ since the way is level and open; and let each
“ century march one by one in a line: for by keep-
“ ing in close order we shall march with the more
“ dispatch and the more safety. And it is for this
“ reason that I order those that have corselets to
“ lead, because they make the heaviest part of the
“ army; and when the heaviest lead the way, of
“ necessity all the lighter follow with ease: but when
“ the lighter and nimbler part leads in the night, it
“ is not at all to be wondered at, that the forces
“ disperse; for the body that is at the head runs off
“ from the rest. After these, (said he,) let *Artabazus*
“ lead the *Persian* shield-men and archers:
“ after these let *Andranicas* the *Mede* lead the *Median*
“ foot: after these, *Embas*, the *Armenian* foot: after
“ these, *Artuchas*, the *Hyrceanians*: after these, *Tham-*
“ *brydas*, the *Sacian* foot: after these, *Damatas*, the
“ *Cadusians*. Let all these lead with their centurions
“ in front, and with their shield-men upon the
“ right, and their archers upon the left of their own
“ oblong bodies; for by marching in this manner
“ they are the more ready for service. After these,
(said he,) “ let the baggage-servants of the whole
“ army

“ army follow. Let their commanders take care of
“ them all, that they have all things ready put up
“ before they sleep; that they attend early in the
“ morning in their appointed posts, and follow in
“ an orderly manner. After the baggage-servants,
(said he,) “ let *Madatas*, the *Persian*, lead the *Persian*
“ horse, and let him likewise have the centurions
“ of horse in front; and let the centurion lead his
“ century in a line one after another, in the same
“ manner as the officers of foot. After these, let
“ *Rambacas*, the *Mede*, lead his horse in the same
“ manner. After these, do you, *Tygranes*, lead your
“ horse; and so the rest of the commanders of horse,
“ the horse that each of them joined us with. After
“ these, let the *Sacians* march, and the *Cadusians* as
“ they came in to us the last; so let them bring
“ up the rear of the whole army. And do you,
“ *Alceuna*, that command them, take care to be in
“ the rear of all, and do not suffer any to be behind
“ your horse. And do you commanders, and all
“ you that are wise, take care to march silently;
“ for it is by means of the ears rather than the
“ eyes that all things must of necessity be disco-
“ vered and transacted in the night. And to be
“ put into disorder, is a thing of worse consequence
“ than in the day, and more difficult to be recovered.
“ For this reason, silence must be practised, and order
“ preserved. And when you are to settle the night-
“ watches, you ought always to make them as short,
“ and as many as is possible, that much watching

“ upon the night-guard may not exhaust and disable
“ any one for the march ; and when the time comes
“ for marching, the signal must be given by the
“ sound of the horn. And do you all attend ready
“ upon the road to *Babylon*, each of you with all
“ things proper. And let him that advances before
“ always exhort the man behind him to follow.”

UPON this, they went to their tents, and in going discoursed among themselves how great a memory *Cyrus* had, and how he gave his orders, naming all the persons that he gave directions to. This *Cyrus* did out of his great care and exactness ; for he thought it very strange, that mean artificers should each of them know the names of the tools belonging to their art ; and that a physician should know the names of all the medicines and instruments that he uses ; but that a general should be such a fool, as not to know the names of the commanders that are under him, and that he must necessarily use as his instruments. And whenever he had a mind to possess himself of any thing, or to preserve it, when he had a mind to raise courage, or to strike a terror, or when he had a mind to do honour to any one, he thought it became him to call the men by their names. And he was of opinion, that they who thought themselves known to their commander, would be the more desirous to be seen performing some noble action, and more zealous to abstain from doing any thing that was base. He thought it very foolish, when one had a mind that any thing should be

be done, to give orders as some masters in their private families give theirs; let some body go for water! let some body cleave the wood! for when such orders were given, he thought that all looked one upon another, and that no body dispatched the thing that was ordered, and that all were in fault, yet no body was ashamed or afraid, because the blame was shared amongst several. For these reasons he named all the persons when he gave his orders. This was *Cyrus's* judgment in this matter.

THE soldiers having taken their suppers, settled their watches, and put up all things that were proper, went to rest. When it was midnight the signal was given by the sound of the horn; and *Cyrus* having told *Chryfantas* that he would wait on the road upon the front of the army, went off, taking his servants with him. In a short time after *Chryfantas* came up at the head of those that wore corselets. *Cyrus* therefore giving him guides, ordered him to march gently on till a messenger came to him; for they were not yet all upon the march. He standing in the same place, dismissed away in order those that came up, and sent off to call forward those that were dilatory. When they were all upon the march he sent certain horsemen to *Chryfantas*, to tell him, that all were now upon the march. Lead on therefore with more dispatch! He himself on horseback putting forward towards the van-front, observed at leisure the several bodies, and those that he saw marching orderly and silently he rode up to, and enquired

enquired who they were; and when he was informed he commended them: but if he perceived any of them to be tumultuous, he enquired into the cause of it, and endeavoured to allay the disturbance.

THERE is only one part of his care in the night that has been omitted; which is, that at the head of the whole army, he sent out certain light and expeditious foot, not many in number, that *Chrysfantas* was to keep within the reach of his eye, and who were to keep *Chrysfantas* within the reach of theirs; who getting notices of things by the ear, or if by any other means able to receive any intelligence, were to signify to *Chrysfantas* what the occasion seemed to require. There was one commander over them, who kept them in order, and notified what was worthy notice, and what was not so, he gave no disturbance by the telling. And thus he marched in the night.

BUT when it was day, he left the *Cadusian* horse with the *Cadusian* foot, because they marched the last, and that they might not march naked without horse. But the rest of the horse he ordered to push forward to the front, because the enemy were before them, and that in case any opposed him, he might meet and engage them with his forces in order under him; and that if any were seen flying, he might be in the greatest readiness for the pursuit. And he had always ready in order both those that were to pursue, if pursuit was proper, as well as those that were to remain by him; but the general order of the whole he never suffered to be broke. Thus *Cyrus*
led

led the army. He himself was not always in the same station, but riding about here and there kept viewing, and where any thing was deficient took care of it.

THUS did *Cyrus's* men march. But a certain person, one of authority and consideration, belonging to *Gadatas's* body of horse, as soon as he saw that he had revolted from the *Assyrian*, concluded that if any misfortune happened to *Gadatas*, he himself might obtain from the *Assyrian* all that belonged to *Gadatas*. So he sent one of the most trusty of his people to the *Assyrian*. And he ordered the man that went, if he found the *Assyrian* army already in *Gadatas's* territory, to tell the *Assyrian*, that if he would form an ambuscade, he might take *Gadatas* and all that were with him. He ordered the man to tell what force *Gadatas* had, and that *Cyrus* did not go with him. And he told him the road that he intended to take. Besides, that he might be the more readily trusted, he sent orders to his servants, to deliver up to the *Assyrian* the fort that he had the possession of in the territory of *Gadatas*, and all that was in it. He said that he would come himself, and if he was able, it should be after he had killed *Gadatas*; but if he could not do that, it should be to attend the *Assyrian* for the future. When the person appointed for this service, having rode with all possible speed, was come to the *Assyrian*, and had declared the purpose of his coming, the *Assyrian*, having heard it, immediately seized the fort; and
having

having a great force both of horse and chariots, he lay in ambuscade in certain villages that stood very close together. *Gadatas*, as soon as he approached these villages, sent some people to examine and make discovery. The *Assyrian*, when he found these discoverers approaching, ordered two or three chariots and a few horse to quit their post and betake themselves to flight, as being terrified, and but few in number. The discoverers themselves, as soon as they saw this, pursued, and made signs to *Gadatas*. He, being thus deceived, pursued with all his might. The *Assyrians*, when they thought *Gadatas* within reach of being taken, broke out from their ambuscade. They that were with *Gadatas* seeing this fled, as was natural for them to do; the others likewise, as was natural, pursued: Upon this, the contriver of this affair against *Gadatas* struck at him, but missed the mortal blow, hit him upon the shoulder and wounded him; and having done this, he made off to join the pursuers. When it was known who he was, he, pressing his horse on with a great deal of zeal in company with the *Assyrians*, attended the pursuit with the king. It is plain, that upon this occasion they that had the slowest horses were taken by those that had the fleetest; and all *Gadatas's* horse having before been harraßed by their march, were quite spent. When they saw *Cyrus* advancing with his army, one must needs think they made up to them with as much joy and pleasure as if they were entering a harbour after a storm.

CYRUS was at first astonished, but when he understood what the matter was, he led the army forward in order during the whole time that all these men that faced him were riding up towards him. But when the enemy, understanding how things were, turned and fled, then *Cyrus* commanded those that were appointed to that purpose to pursue. He himself followed with the rest, in the manner that he thought proper. Upon this occasion several chariots were taken, some by means of the drivers falling off, and this partly by being overturned, partly by other means, and some were taken by being intercepted by the horse; and they killed a great many, and amongst them the man that struck *Gadatas*. Of the *Assyrian* foot that were besieging the fortrefs of *Gadatas*, some fled to the fort that had revolted from *Gadatas*, and some escaped to a considerable city that belonged to the *Assyrian*, and whither the *Assyrian* himself, with his chariots and horses, fled.

CYRUS having done this, retired into the territory of *Gadatas*, and having given his orders to the proper persons upon the subject of the prisoners, he presently went to see how *Gadatas* was of his wound; and as he was going, *Gadatas* met him with his wound already bound up. *Cyrus* was pleased at the sight of him, and said, “I was going to see how you
“did.” “And I, by the gods! (said *Gadatas*,) was
“going again to view the outward form of the man
“who has such a soul! You who are not, that I
“know, in any manner of need of me, who never
R “promised

“promised to do these things for me; who, as to
 “your own particular, never received any benefit
 “whatever from me; and only, because I was
 “thought to have done a service to your friends,
 “have so affectionately assisted me: So that, as far
 “as I was concerned myself, I had now perished, but
 “am by your means saved. By the gods! *Cyrus!*
 “if I was the same that I was originally, and were
 “in the condition of having children, I do not think
 “that I could ever have a son so affectionate to me;
 “for I know this present king of the *Assyrians* par-
 “ticularly to have been the cause of more affliction
 “to his father than he can be now to you, and
 “many other sons the same.”

To this *Cyrus* said, “Now, *Gadatas*, do you ad-
 “mire me, and pass by a much greater wonder?”
 “And what is that?” said *Gadatas*. “That so
 “many *Persians* (said he) have been so diligent in
 “your service, so many *Medes*, so many *Hyrconians*,
 “as well as all these *Armenians*, *Sacians*, and *Cadu-*
 “*sians*, here present.” Then *Gadatas* made this
 prayer: “O *Jove!* may the gods bestow many blef-
 “sings upon them, but most upon him who is the
 “cause of their being such men! And that we may
 “handsomely entertain these men that you com-
 “mend, *Cyrus*, accept these presents of friendship,
 “which are such as I am able to tender you.” At
 the same time he brought him great abundance and
 variety of things, that he might make a sacrifice, if
 he

he pleased, or entertain the whole army suitably to things so nobly performed, and so happily succeeding.

MEAN while the *Cadusian* still made the rear-guard, and had no share in the pursuit; but being desirous to perform something himself that was conspicuous, he made an excursion into the territory of *Babylon*, without communicating it, or saying any thing of it to *Cyrus*. But the *Assyrian*, from that city of his, whither he had fled, and with his army entirely together, and in order, coming up with the horse of the *Cadusian* that were dispersed, as soon as he knew them to be the *Cadusians* alone, attacks them, kills their commander, and a great many others, takes a great many horses, and takes from them the booty that they were carrying off. The *Assyrian* then, after having pursued as far as he thought it safe, turned back, and the *Cadusians* made their escape to the camp, where the first of them arrived towards the evening.

CYRUS, as soon as he perceived what had happened, went and met the *Cadusians*, and of all that he saw wounded some he took and sent to *Gadatas*, that they might be taken care of, and others he lodged together in tents, and took care that they had all things necessary, taking some of the *Persian* alike-honoured to be his assistants. For upon such occasions, men of worth are willing to bestow their joint pains. He evidently appeared to be extremely afflicted; so that while others were taking their suppers, when the time for it was come, *Cyrus*, attended

by servants and physicians, willingly left no one neglected, but either saw with his own eyes, or if he could not dispatch all himself, he was observed to send others to take that care upon them. Thus then they went to rest.

As soon as it was day, having made proclamation that the commanders of the other nations, and all the *Cadusians* in general, should assemble, he spoke to this effect.—“ Friends and allies! The misfortune that has happened to us is what human nature is liable to; for in my opinion it is not to be wondered at, that being men, we should be guilty of error. However, we are not unworthy of reaping some advantage by this accident, and that is, to learn never to separate from the whole a smaller force than that of the enemy. Yet I do not say, (said he,) “ that we are never to march, where it is proper, with a part even yet less than the *Cadusian* marched with upon this occasion. But if a man march, after having concerted matters with another who is able to support him, he may indeed be deceived; but he that remains behind, by deceiving the enemy, may turn them to another part, and out of the way of those that have marched off; it is possible for him to procure safety to his friends by giving other employment to his enemies; and thus he that separates does not become entirely disjoined, but remains annexed to the main strength of the whole. He, on the other side, that marches off without giving any information whither it is
“ that

“ that he is going, is in the same case as if he made
“ war alone. But, (said he,) if it please God, it
“ shall not be long before we have our revenge of
“ the enemy, in return of this. And as soon as ever
“ you have dined, I will lead you out to the place
“ where this affair was transacted; we will bury our
“ dead, and at the same time, if it please God, we
“ will let the enemy see men superior to themselves,
“ upon the very place where they think they have
“ been victorious; that they may not look with plea-
“ sure upon that spot of ground where they butchered
“ our fellow-combatants. If they will not come out
“ to us, we will burn their villages and destroy their
“ country, that they may not be delighted upon
“ viewing what they themselves have done, but be
“ afflicted at the sight of their own misfortunes.
“ Let the rest then, (said he,) go take their dinners,
“ and do you, *Cadusians*, first go your ways, and chuse
“ you a commander according to your usage, who,
“ with the help of the gods, and together with us,
“ shall take care of you in whatever may be wanting
“ to you; and when you have made your choice, and
“ taken your dinners, then send the person you have
“ chosen to me.”

THESE men did accordingly; and *Cyrus*, when he
had led out the army, and placed the person who
was chosen by the *Cadusians* in his station, ordered
him to lead his body of men near to himself, “ that
“ if we are able, (said he,) we may recover the cou-
“ rage of the men.” So they marched, and coming

up to the place, they buried the *Cadusians*, and laid the country waste; and having done this, and supplied themselves with necessaries out of the enemies country, they again retreated into the territory of *Gadatas*.

BUT then considering that they who had revolted to him, being in the neighbourhood of *Babylon*, would suffer severely, unless he himself was always at hand, he therefore commanded all those of the enemy that he dismissed, to tell the *Assyrian*, that he himself sent a herald to declare to him, “ That he
“ was ready to let the labourers that were employed
“ in the culture of the lands alone, and not to do
“ them any injury, if he, on the other side, would
“ allow such labourers as belonged to those that had
“ revolted to himself, to go on with their work; and
“ indeed, (said he,) if you are able to hinder them,
“ you will hinder but a few, for the land that be-
“ longs to those that have revolted to me is but
“ little; and on the other side, I should allow a great
“ quantity of land to be cultivated for you. Then
“ at the time of gathering the crop, if the war con-
“ tinues, he that is superior in arms, in my opinion,
“ must gather it. If there be peace, it is plain (said
he) “ that it must be you; but if any of my people
“ use arms against you, or any of yours against me,
“ upon these we will both of us return mutual hos-
“ tilities if we can.”—Having given the herald these orders, he sent him away.

AND

AND when the *Assyrians* had heard these things, they did all that they were able, to persuade the king to yield to them, and to leave as little of war remaining as was possible. The *Assyrian*, either at the persuasion of those of his own nation, or inclined to it himself, consented ; and agreements were made, that there should be peace to those that were employed in labour, and war to those that bore arms. These things did *Cyrus* effect with respect to the labouring people. But the pastures of their cattle he ordered his own friends to settle, if they thought fit, within the extent of their own power, and to make prey upon the enemy where-ever they were able, that the service might be more agreeable to his allies, for the dangers were the same, even without their seizing necessaries for their subsistence, and the maintaining themselves upon the enemy, seemed to make the service the lighter.

BUT when *Cyrus* was now preparing to be gone, *Gadatas* came to him, having collected presents of all kinds, and in great abundance, as arising from a very great estate, and having taken a great many horses from his own horsemen that he mistrusted upon the account of the late contrivance against him : and when he accosted him, he spoke thus : — “ I bring you these
“ things, *Cyrus* ! at this time, that you may make
“ present use of them in case you want them. And
“ count upon it, (said he,) that all things else that
“ belong to me are yours ; for it is impossible for
“ me to have one descended from myself to leave
“ my

“ my estate to, but my race and name, (said he,) must of
 “ necessity be extinguished with myself when I die. And
 “ this I suffer, *Cyrus*, said he, (I swear it to you, by the
 “ gods, who see all things, and hear all things!) without
 “ having been guilty of any thing unjust, or base,
 “ either in word or deed.”—At the same time that he
 said this, he burst out into tears at his unhappy fate,
 and it was not in his power to say more.

CYRUS having heard this, pitied him for his misfortune, and spoke thus.—“ The horses, (said he,)
 “ I accept; for I shall do you service by giving
 “ them to men better affected to you, it seems, than
 “ they who had them before; and shall fill up the
 “ *Persian* body of horse to ten thousand men, a thing
 “ that I have long desired; the rest of your valuable
 “ effects do you take away and keep, till such time
 “ as you see me in a condition not to be outdone by
 “ you in presents: for if you part with me, and
 “ your presents amount to more than you receive at
 “ my hands, I know not how it is possible for me
 “ not to be quite ashamed.”

To this *Gadatas* said, “ But I trust them to you,
 “ for I see your temper. As to the keeping of them
 “ myself, pray see whether I am fit for it. For while
 “ we were friends with the *Assyrian*, my father’s
 “ estate seemed to be the noblest that could be;
 “ for being near to our capital city *Babylon*, we en-
 “ joyed all the advantages that we could possibly be
 “ supplied with from that great city; and as often as
 “ we were disturbed with the crowd and hurry, by
 “ retiring

“retiring hither to our home, we got out of the
“way of it. But now that we are become enemies,
“it is plain that when you are gone, both we our-
“selves, and our whole family and estate, shall have
“contrivances formed against us. We shall, in my
“opinion, live very miserably, both by having our
“enemies just by us, and by seeing them superior to
“ourselves. Perhaps you will presently therefore
“say, And why did not I consider this before I re-
“volted? Why! because, *Cyrus*, by means of the
“injuries I had received, and the anger I was in, my
“soul never dwelt upon the consideration of what
“was safest for me; but was always big with the
“thought, whether it would be ever in my power
“to take my revenge upon this enemy, both to the
“gods and men! who passes his days in hatred,
“and that not to the man that may have done him an
“injury, but to any one that he suspects to be a
“better man than himself! And this wicked wretch,
“therefore, in my opinion, will make use of such
“assistants as are all more wicked than himself! Or
“if there be any that may appear to be better than he,
“take courage, *Cyrus*, (said he,) you will not be un-
“der any necessity to engage against any such men of
“worth; but he himself will be sufficient to carry on
“this work, till he has taken off every better man than
“himself! And yet distressing me, I am of opinion,
“that with his villains he will easily get the better!”

In all this, *Cyrus*, who heard it, was of opinion,
that the man said what was worthy of his attention
and

and care ; and he presently said, “ And have not you
 “ therefore strengthened your fortrefs with a garrison,
 “ that you may make use of it with safety when you
 “ go thither ? And as to yourself, you accompany
 “ us in the service, that if the gods please to be with
 “ us, as now they are, he may be in fear of you, and
 “ not you of him. Take of what belongs to you
 “ whatever you like to see about you, and of your
 “ people take whoever you like to converse with,
 “ and march with me. You will be, in my opinion,
 “ extremely useful to me, and I will endeavour to be
 “ as useful to you as I can.”

GADATAS, hearing this, recovered himself, and
 said ; “ Shall I be able, (said he,) to put up all, and
 “ be ready before you march away ? For, (said he,)
 “ I would willingly carry my mother with me.” “ Yes
 “ by *Jove* ! (said he,) you will be ready time enough ;
 “ for I will wait till you say that all is well.”—So
Gadatas going his way, settled, in concert with
Cyrus, garrisons in the several fortresses he had made :
 he packed up all kinds of things, enough to furnish
 a very great house in a handsome manner. He took
 with him from amongst those he confided in, such
 whose company he was pleased with ; and many of
 those too that he distrusted, obliging some of them
 to take their wives, and some their sisters with them,
 that by this means he might keep them as it were in
 fetters.

CYRUS himself marched, and amongst the rest of
 those that were about him, he kept *Gadatas* to inform
 him

him about the ways and the waters, about forage and provisions, that he might carry on the service with the greatest plenty of all things. But when, in the course of his march, he got sight of the city of *Babylon*, and fancied that the way he was going led him just under the walls of the place, he called *Gobrias* and *Gadatas*, and asked if there was any other way, that he might not lead the army near to the walls.

THEN *Gobrias* spoke. “ My sovereign, there are
“ many ways; but I thought, (said he,) that you
“ desired to lead on as near to the city as possible,
“ that you might shew them the army, and let them
“ see that you have now a great and noble one;
“ because when you had a less, you marched up to
“ the walls, and they saw us when we were not very
“ numerous. And now, though the *Assyrian* be pre-
“ pared, as he told you he would be prepared to
“ give you battle, I know, that when he sees your
“ strength, his preparations will not appear to him
“ to be sufficient.”

CYRUS to this said, “ You seem to me, *Gobrias*,
“ to wonder that when I came with a less army, I
“ led up to the very walls; but that now, with a
“ greater, I have no mind to march the army under
“ them: but make no wonder of this, (said he,)
“ for to lead up to a place, and to march by it, is
“ not the same thing. All men lead up in such an
“ order as they think is best for them to engage in;
“ and people that are wise, retreat so as to go off in
“ the

“ the safest manner, and not in the quickest. But
“ it is necessary to march by with the carriages ex-
“ tended in length, and with the beasts of burthen,
“ and those that are concerned in the baggage, all
“ in loose order; all this must be covered by the
“ soldiers that bear arms, and the baggage-train must
“ in no part appear to the enemy naked of arms;
“ and marching in this manner, the strength of the
“ army must of necessity be extended into a thin and
“ weak order. If then they have a mind, from within
“ the walls, to make an attack in a close firm body,
“ wherever they close in they do it with a strength
“ much superior to those that are upon the march,
“ and to men that are marching in a train at length,
“ the proper helps are at a great distance; but to
“ those that march out from within their walls, the
“ distance is little that they have either to march up
“ to the enemy that is at hand, or to retreat back
“ again. But if we pass by at no less a distance than
“ so as that they may just see us, and if we march
“ extended as we now are, they will see the multi-
“ tude that we are, and every multitude, by means
“ of arms interwoven amongst them, appears terri-
“ ble. If they really do march up to us in any part,
“ by our seeing them at a considerable distance, we
“ shall not be taken unprepared; and then, my
“ friends, (said he,) they will the rather avoid attack-
“ ing us, when they are obliged to march a great
“ distance from their walls, unless they think them-
“ selves

“felves, in the whole, fuperior to us, for they will
“have caufe to be in fear for their retreat.”

WHEN he had faid this, the perfons prefent were of opinion that he faid right, and *Gobrias* led the way as he had directed him; and while the army was moving on by the city, that part of it that was left behind he always made the ftrongeft, and in that manner retreated.

WHEN marching thus the following days, he reached the borders of the *Affyrians* and *Medes*, from whence he came before, and where there were three forts belonging to the *Affyrians*; the weakeft of thefe he attacked and took by force, and two of them, *Cyrus* by terror, and *Gadatas* by perfuafion, prevailed with the garrifons to give up. When he had done this, he fent to *Cyaxares*, and by meffage defired him to come to the army, that they might confult what ufe to make of the forts they had taken; and, after having taken a view of the army, he might in the whole of their affairs advife what he thought proper to be done for the future; and if he orders it, (faid he,) tell him that I will come and encamp with him. The meffenger, in order to deliver this meffage, went his way, and upon this *Cyrus* ordered *Gadatas* to furnifh out the *Affyrian's* tent that the *Medes* had chofen for *Cyaxares*, and this in the handfomeft manner; and not only with all the other furniture that it was provided with, but he ordered him to introduce the two women into that apartment of the tent that belonged to the women, and together
with

with them, the women musicians that had been chosen out for *Cyaxares*. These men did as they were ordered. But when he that was sent to *Cyaxares* had delivered his message, *Cyaxares* having heard him, determined it to be best that the army should remain upon the borders; for the *Persians* that *Cyrus* had sent for were come, and they were forty thousand archers and shield-men. Therefore when he saw that these men did prejudice, in many ways, to the *Median* territory, he thought it better to get rid of these, rather than admit another multitude. And that *Persian* who commanded the army, having enquired from *Cyaxares*, according to the orders of *Cyrus*, whether he had any service for the army, when he told him that he had none, and when he heard that *Cyrus* was at hand, upon that very day marched, and conducted the army to him. The next day *Cyaxares* marched with the *Median* horse that remained with him; and as soon as *Cyrus* perceived him approaching, then taking the *Persian* horse, who were now very numerous, all the *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Hyrceanians*, and of all the other allies such as were the best horsed and armed, he met him, and shewed *Cyaxares* his force.

CYAXARES, when he saw a great many brave men attending *Cyrus*, and but a small company attending upon himself, and those but of little value, thought it mean and dishonourable to him, and was seized with a violent concern. But when *Cyrus* alighted from his horse, and came up to him, as intend-

ing

ing to kiss him in the customary manner, *Cyaxares* likewise alighted, but turned from him, refused to kiss him, and burst openly into tears. Upon this *Cyrus* ordered all the rest that were there to retire and wait. He himself taking *Cyaxares* by the right hand, and conducting him out of the road, under certain palm-trees, he ordered some *Median* quilts to be laid for him, and making him sit down, he sat himself down by him, and asked him thus:

“ O, uncle, (said he,) tell me, I beg you, by all
“ the Gods! what are you angry with me for?
“ And what ill thing have you discovered, that you
“ take thus amiss?”—Then *Cyaxares* answered in
this manner: “ It is, *Cyrus*, (said he,) that I, who
“ as far as the memory of man can reach, am reckoned
“ to be sprung from a long train of ancestors, and
“ from a father who was a King, and who am myself
“ accounted a King, should see myself marching
“ thus meanly and contemptibly! and see you with
“ my attendance, and with other forces, appear here
“ great and conspicuous! I should think it hard
“ to suffer this treatment at the hands of enemies,
“ and much harder, O *Jove*! to suffer it at the
“ hands of those that I ought least to have it from!
“ For I think I could sink down under the earth
“ ten times over with more satisfaction, than be
“ seen in this mean condition, and see my own
“ people thus contemning and laughing at me!
“ For I am not ignorant, not only that you are
“ more considerable than myself, but that my own
“ slaves

“ slaves are above me in power, dare to oppose my
“ pleasure, and are so set up as to be rather able to do
“ me mischief, than liable to suffer it at my hands.”—
And in saying this, he was still overwhelmed in
tears, so that he drew down a flood of tears into the
eyes of *Cyrus*.

But *Cyrus* pausing a little, spoke to this effect:—
“ In all this, (said he,) *Cyaxares*, you neither say true,
“ nor judge right. If you think that the *Medes*,
“ by my presence, are set up upon such a foot, as to
“ be able to do you mischief, I do not wonder that
“ you are enraged and terrified. But, whether it be
“ justly or unjustly that you are offended at them,
“ this I shall pass by; for I know you must take it
“ ill to hear me making their apology; but for a
“ ruler to take offence at all his people at once, this
“ I take to be an error; for by striking terror into
“ a multitude, of necessity that multitude must be
“ made one’s enemies, and by taking offence at them
“ all together, they are inspired with unity of sen-
“ timents. Upon this account, be it known to
“ you, it was, that I would not send these men away
“ to you without me, being afraid lest something
“ might happen by means of your anger, that might
“ have afflicted us all. By the assistance of the gods,
“ therefore, while I am present, these things may be
“ safely composed; but that you should think yourself
“ injured by me, at this I am very much concerned;
“ that while I have been doing all that is in my
“ power to do all possible service to my friends,
“ I am

“ I am then thought to have done the quite contrary.
“ But do not let us thus charge one another at random,
“ but if possible let us consider clearly what the in-
“ jury is that I have done. I will state then an
“ agreement for us to come to, and such as is the
“ justest that can be between friends. If I shall ap-
“ pear to have done you mischief, I will confess that
“ I have wronged you; but if I neither appear to
“ have done you any harm, nor to have intended it,
“ will not you then confess that you have not been
“ wronged by me?” “ I must, (said he,) of necessity.”
“ If I plainly appear to have done you service, and
“ to have been zealous to do you all the service that
“ I was able, shall not I deserve your commendation
“ rather than your reproach?” “ It is but just,” said
he. “ Come on then, (said *Cyrus*,) let us consider
“ all the things that I have done, one by one; for
“ by this it will appear the most evidently, which
“ was good and which was ill; we will take it from
“ the beginning of this affair, if this appears to you
“ to be sufficient. When you perceived that the
“ enemy were assembling their forces, and were about
“ making an attempt upon you, and upon your
“ country, you then sent immediately to the public
“ council of *Persia*, begging assistance, and to me
“ in particular, desired me to endeavour, if any *Per-*
“ *sians* came to you, to come as their commander.
“ Was not I by you persuaded to this? Did not I
“ come, and bring you as many and as brave men
“ as I was able?” “ You did come, said he.”

“First, therefore, (said he,) in this particular tell
“me, whether you account it an injury or a benefit
“that I did you?”—“It is plain, said *Cyaxares*, that
“in this you did what was a benefit to me.—Well,
“then, (said he,) when the enemies advanced, and
“we were to engage them, did you perceive, that
“upon this occasion I spared any pains, or that I
“balked any danger?” “No, by *Jove*! (said he,)
“not at all.” “And then, when, with the assistance
“of the gods, we gained our victory, and the enemy
“retreated, I exhorted you, that we might jointly
“pursue them, take our joint revenge upon them,
“and if any thing good or ill should befall us,
“that we might jointly share it; and can you
“charge me with any thing of ambition and de-
“fire of power in any of these things?”—To this
Cyaxares was silent; and *Cyrus* again spoke in this
manner: “Since it is your pleasure to be silent in
“this, rather than to give me a reply, tell me then,
(said he,) “whether you think yourself injured, be-
“cause that when you were of opinion that it was
“not safe to pursue, I did not allow you to share in
“the danger, but only desired you to send some of
“your horse? For if I wronged you in asking this,
“especially after I had given myself up to you, as
“an assistant and ally, let this, (said he,) be demon-
“strated by yourself.”—When *Cyaxares* kept himself
silent to this too: “But, (said he,) if you will give
“me no answer here neither, then tell me this;
“whether I did you any wrong when you gave me
“for

“ for answer, that upon your observing the *Medes*
“ to be indulging themselves in pleasure, you would
“ not put a stop to it, and oblige them to march
“ and run themselves into danger ; and whether you
“ think that I put a hardship upon you, when avoid-
“ ing all anger and resentment to you, I then again
“ upon that asked you a thing, than which I knew
“ there was nothing that you could more easily grant,
“ and that nothing more easy could possibly be
“ enjoined the *Medes* ? For I asked you only to allow
“ any of them, that would, to follow me ; and
“ when I had obtained this from you, there was no-
“ thing left but to persuade them. I went to them,
“ I persuaded them, and those that I prevailed with
“ I took, and marched with them at your allowance.
“ If you reckon this to be deserving of blame, then
“ to take from you what you yourself grant, is not,
“ it seems, a thing void of blame. Thus then we
“ set forward. When we were marched, what was
“ there, that we did, that was not apparent ? Was
“ not the camp of the enemy taken ? Were there
“ not many of those that made war upon you killed ?
“ And of those that remained alive, were there not
“ a great many stripped of their arms, and a great
“ many of their horses ? The fortunes and effects of
“ those that plundered and ravaged yours before,
“ you see now taken and ravaged by your friends ;
“ some of them belong to you, and others of them
“ to those that are under your dominion. But what
“ is the greatest and noblest thing, and above all is,

“ that you see your own territory enlarged, and that
“ of your enemies diminished; and some forts that
“ were possessed by the enemy, and some of your
“ own that had been taken and annexed to the *Assy-*
“ *rian* dominion, now, on the contrary, you see
“ yielded to you. Whether any of these things be
“ good or ill, I cannot say that I desire to learn;
“ but nothing hinders me from hearing what your
“ opinion is concerning them, and do you tell it me.”

CYRUS having said this, was silent, and waited the reply.

AND *Cyaxares* spoke thus in answer: “ Indeed,
“ *Cyrus*, I do not know how one can say that those
“ things you have performed are ill, but be it known
“ to you, (said he,) that these good things are of
“ such a kind, as the more they appear to be in
“ number, so much the more are they burthensome
“ upon me. I should rather chuse to enlarge your
“ territory by my forces, than see mine thus enlarged
“ by yours. For these things, to you that do them,
“ are glorious, but to me they are in some sort dis-
“ graceful. And I am of opinion, that I should be
“ better pleased to bestow of these rich effects upon
“ you, than to receive from you these things that
“ you now present me with; for I perceive myself
“ enriched by you with things that make me the
“ poorer; and I believe I should be less grieved to
“ see my subjects in some degree injured by you,
“ than I am now to see them receiving great ad-
“ vantages at your hands. If I appear to you to
“ think

“ think unreasonably in this, do not consider these
“ things as in my case, but turn the tables, and make
“ the case your own: And then, (said he,) consider,
“ that in the case of dogs that you maintained as
“ a guard and protection to you and yours, sup-
“ posing any other person should make his court
“ to them, and should make them better acquainted
“ with himself than with you, whether you should
“ be pleased with this courtship and service? But if
“ this appear to you to be but an inconsiderable
“ matter, then consider this. You have servants that
“ you have acquired as guards to you and for ser-
“ vice; if any one should manage these in such a
“ manner, as that they should be more willing to
“ serve him than to serve you, should you think
“ yourself obliged to this man in return of this be-
“ nefit? Then, in another concern, that mens affec-
“ tions are greatly engaged in, and that they culti-
“ vate in the most intimate manner; if any one
“ should make such court to your wife, as to make
“ her love him better than she loved you, should
“ you be delighted with this benefit? I believe far
“ from it, (said he;) nay, I know, that in doing this,
“ he would do you the greatest of injuries. But
“ that I may mention what is most applicable to my
“ own concern, If any one should make such court
“ to the *Persians* that you have conducted hither, as
“ should make it more agreeable to them to follow
“ him than to follow you, should you think this man
“ your friend? I believe you would not, but you
“ would

“ would rather think him yet more your enemy than
“ if he killed you a great many of them. Well,
“ then, suppose any friend of yours, upon your say-
“ ing to him in a friendly way, take as much of
“ what belongs to me as you please, should, upon
“ hearing this, go his way, take all that he was able,
“ and enrich himself with what belonged to you, and
“ that you, mean while, should not have wherewithal
“ to supply your own uses in a very moderate way;
“ could you possibly think such a one a blameless
“ unexceptionable friend? Now, *Cyrus*, I take my-
“ self to have had from you, if not the same usage,
“ yet such as is very like it. You say true, that
“ when I bid you carry off those that were willing to
“ go, you took my whole force, went off with them,
“ and left me destitute; and now you bring me
“ things that you have taken with my own force,
“ and with my own force you enlarge my territory.
“ But I, as not having any hand in obtaining these
“ advantages, look as if I gave up myself, like a
“ woman, to be served by others as well as by my
“ own subjects; for you appear to be the man, and
“ I to be unworthy of rule; and do you take these
“ things, *Cyrus*, to be benefits? Be it known to you,
“ if you had any concern for me, there is nothing
“ you would be so careful not to rob me of as of my
“ dignity and honour. What advantage is it to me
“ to have my land extended and myself contemned?
“ I have dominion over the *Medes*, not by being
“ really the best of them all, but by means of their
“ think-

“ thinking us to be in all respects superior to themselves.” —

HERE *Cyrus* took up the discourse while *Cyaxares* was yet speaking, and said, “ I beg you, uncle, (said he,) “ by all the gods ! if I ever before did any thing “ that was agreeable to you, gratify me now in the “ things that I shall ask of you. Give over blaming “ me at this time, and when you have had experience “ of us how we are affected towards you, if the things “ that have been done appear done for your service, “ give me your embraces in return of the affection “ I have for you, and think that I have been of service to you : If things appear otherwise, then “ blame me.”

“ PERHAPS, indeed, (said *Cyaxares*,) you say right.” “ Well then, (said *Cyrus*,) shall I kiss you ?” “ If “ you please,” (said he.) “ And will you not turn “ from me, as you did just now ?” “ I will not,” said he.—Then he kissed him.

As soon as this was seen by the *Medes* and *Persians*, and many others, (for they were all under concern about the issue of this affair,) they all presently became chearful and pleased.

THEN *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus* mounting their horses, led the way before : The *Medes* followed after *Cyaxares*, (for *Cyrus* made a sign to them to do so,) and the *Persians* followed *Cyrus* ; and after these followed the rest. When they came to the camp, and had lodged *Cyaxares* in the tent that was furnished for him, they that were appointed to that service pre-

pared all things fitting for him. And during the time that *Cyaxares* was at leisure before supper, the *Medes* went to him, some of themselves, but most of them in consequence of directions from *Cyrus*; and they brought him presents, one a beautiful cup-bearer, another an excellent cook, another a baker, another a musician, one brought him cups, and another a fine habit; and almost every one presented him with something out of what they had taken; so that *Cyaxares* changed his opinion, and no longer thought either that *Cyrus* had alienated these men from him, or that the *Medes* were less observant of him than before.

WHEN the time of supper came, *Cyaxares* invited *Cyrus*, and desired, that since he had not seen him of some time, he would sup with him. But *Cyrus* said, “ I beg, *Cyaxares*, that you would not bid me do
“ this. Do not you observe, that all those that are
“ here with us attend here at our instigation? It
“ would not therefore be well in me to appear negligent of them, and mindful of my own pleasure.
“ When soldiers think themselves neglected, the best
“ of them become much more dejected, and the worst
“ of them much more insolent. But do you, especially now after you have had a long journey, take
“ your supper; and if people come to pay you respect,
“ receive them kindly, and entertain them well, that
“ they likewise may encourage you. I will go my
“ ways, and apply myself to what I tell you. To-morrow, (said he,) in the morning, all the proper
“ persons

“ persons shall attend here at your doors, that we
“ may consult together what we are to do hencefor-
“ ward ; and you, being yourself present, will pro-
“ pose to us, whether it be thought fit to go on with
“ the war, or whether it be now the proper time to
“ separate the army.”—Upon this *Cyaxares* went to
supper.

AND *Cyrus* assembling such of his friends as were
most able to judge what was fit to be done upon any
occasion, and to assist him in the execution of it,
spoke to this effect.—“ The things that we at first
“ wished for, my friends, we now, with the assistance
“ of the gods, have obtained ; for wherever we march
“ we are masters of the country, we see our enemies
“ weakened, and ourselves increased in numbers and
“ strength ; and if they who are now our allies will
“ still continue with us, we shall be much more able
“ to succeed in our affairs, whether we have occasion
“ to act by force, or whether it be proper to proceed
“ by persuasion ; therefore, that as many of our allies
“ as is possible may be inclined to stay, is not more
“ my business to effect than it is yours. But as when
“ fighting is necessary, he that subdues the greatest
“ numbers will be accounted the most vigorous, so
“ where counsel is necessary, he that makes the
“ greatest numbers to be of his opinion, ought justly
“ to be esteemed the most eloquent and best skilled
“ in affairs. However, do not be at pains, as if you
“ were to shew us what sort of discourse you made
“ use of to every one ; but that the people you pre-
“ vail

“ vail with may shew it in their actions, let this be
“ your business to effect; and that the soldiers,
“ while they consult about the carrying on of the
“ war, shall be supplied with all things necessary and
“ fit in as great plenty as I am able; this I will en-
“ deavour to take care of.”



CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

C R U S.

By XENOPHON.

BOOK VI.

HAVING passed the day in this manner, and having taken their suppers, they went to rest. The next day in the morning, all the allies came to the doors of *Cyaxares*; and while *Cyaxares* (who had heard that there was a great multitude of people at his doors) was setting himself out, *Cyrus's* friends presented to him several people who begged him to stay; some presented the *Cadusians*, some the *Hyrceanians*. One presented *Gobrias*, and another the *Sacian*; and *Hystaspes* presented the eunuch *Gadatas*, who begged *Cyrus* to stay. Here *Cyrus*, who knew before that *Gadatas* had been almost killed with fear, lest the army should be separated, laughed, and spoke thus:—"O *Gadatas*,
(said

(said he,) “ it is plain that you have been persuaded
 “ by *Hystaspes* here to be of the opinion you express.”
 Then *Gadatas*, lifting up his hands to heaven, swore,
 that “ indeed he was not persuaded by *Hystaspes* to
 “ be of this opinion ! but I know (said he,) that if
 “ you depart, my affairs fall intirely to ruin. Upon
 “ this account, (said he,) I came myself to this man,
 “ and asked him, whether he knew what your opi-
 “ nion was concerning the separation of the army ?”
 Then *Cyrus* said, “ It seems, then, that I accuse
 “ *Hystaspes* unjustly.”—Then *Hystaspes* spoke : “ By
 “ *Jove* ! *Cyrus* ! (said he,) unjustly indeed ! because I
 “ gave *Gadatas* for answer, that it was impossible for
 “ you to stay, and told him, that your father had
 “ sent for you.”—“ What ! (said *Cyrus*,) durst you
 “ assert this, whether I would or no ?” —“ Yes,
 “ indeed, (said he,) for I see you are exceedingly
 “ desirous to be making a progress about among
 “ the *Persians*, to be seen, and to shew your father
 “ how you performed every thing.” Then *Cy-
 rus* said, “ And are not you desirous to go home ?”
 “ No, by *Jove* ! (said *Hystaspes*,) nor will I go ; but
 “ stay and discharge my duty as a commander, till I
 “ make *Gadatas* here master of the *Assyrian*.”—Thus
 did these men, with a mixture of seriousness, jest
 with each other.

THEN *Cyaxares*, dressed in a magnificent manner,
 came out, and sat himself on a *Median* throne ; and
 when all the proper persons were met, and silence
 made, *Cyaxares* spoke thus : —“ Friends and allies !
 “ since

“ since I am here present, and am an older man than
“ *Cyrus*, it is proper for me perhaps to begin the
“ discourse : It appears therefore to me, that now is
“ the time to debate whether it be thought proper
“ to go on with the war, or to separate the army.
“ Therefore, (said he,) let some body speak what his
“ opinion is concerning this affair.” — Upon this
the *Hyrceanian* first spoke, “ Friends and allies ! I
“ do not at all know whether words be necessary
“ where facts themselves declare what is best to be
“ done ; for we all know that by keeping together,
“ we do more mischief to our enemies than we suffer
“ from them ; and when we are asunder, they deal
“ by us as is most agreeable to them, and most
“ grievous to us.” — After him spoke the *Cadusian* :
“ What can we say, (said he,) concerning a general
“ departure and separation, when it is not for our
“ interest to separate, even while we are engaged in
“ the service ! Accordingly we not long ago under-
“ took a piece of service separate from the rest of
“ our body, and paid for it as you all know.”

AFTER him, *Artabazus*, he who had said that he
was related to *Cyrus*, spoke thus : “ *Cyaxares*, (said
he,) “ thus much I differ in my opinion from those
“ who spoke before : They say, that we ought to
“ proceed in the war, remaining here together ; and
“ I say that we were in war when we were at home,
“ for I was frequently forced to run to the relief of
“ our own country, when the enemies were plun-
“ dering what belonged to us ; frequently I had
“ business

“ business upon my hands, with respect to our for-
 “ tresses that the enemies were said to have formed
 “ designs upon; and I was continually in fear, and
 “ kept myself upon my guard. All this I did, and
 “ was all this while upon expence out of my own
 “ stock; but now I am in possession of the for-
 “ tresses of the enemy, I am not in fear of them:
 “ I feast upon what belongs to them, and I drink
 “ at the enemies expence; therefore, as being
 “ in one case at war, and in the other case as
 “ at a festival, I am not of opinion to dissolve
 “ this public assembly.” — After him spoke Go-
 brias: “ Friends and allies! thus far I applaud the
 “ faith of *Cyrus*; for he has been false in nothing
 “ that he has promised; but if he quit the country,
 “ it is plain that the *Assyrian* will be at rest, and
 “ escape the punishment due to him, for the injuries
 “ that he endeavoured to do you, and that he has in
 “ fact done me; and I, on my side, shall again suffer
 “ punishment at his hands, and now, it will be, for
 “ having been a friend to you.”

AFTER all these *Cyrus* spoke: “ Nor am I igno-
 “ rant, friends! that if we separate the army, our
 “ own affairs will sink, and the affairs of the enemy
 “ will rise again: for as many of them as have had
 “ their arms taken from them, will make others out
 “ of hand; they that have lost their horses, will
 “ immediately get others; in the room of those
 “ men that are killed, others will grow up and suc-
 “ ceed them; so that it will not be to be wondered

“ at,

“ at, if they become able to give us disturbance again
“ very soon. — Why then did I desire *Cyaxares* to
“ propose the debate upon the separation of the
“ army? — Be it known to you, (said he,) it was be-
“ cause I was in fear for the future. For I perceive
“ certain adversaries advancing upon us, that, if we
“ go on with the war upon the foot we now stand,
“ we shall not be able to struggle with; for the
“ winter is coming on, and if we have roofs to cover
“ our own heads, we have them not, by *Jove*! for
“ our horses, nor for our servants, nor for the com-
“ mon soldiers; and without these we cannot pro-
“ ceed in the service. The provisions, wherever we
“ have come, have been consumed by ourselves, and
“ where we have not been, there, for fear of us, they
“ have been carried off, and secured in fortresses; so
“ that the enemies have them, and we are not able to
“ procure them. And who is there that has bravery
“ and vigour enough to go on with the service, and
“ struggle at the same time with hunger and cold?
“ Therefore, if we are to continue the war upon these
“ terms, I say, that we ought rather to separate the
“ army of our own accord, than be driven away
“ against our wills by distress, and by not knowing
“ what to do; but if we have a mind to go on still
“ with the war, I say we ought to do this. We
“ should endeavour, as soon as possible, to take
“ from the enemy as many of their strong places as
“ we are able, and to erect as many places of strength
“ as we can for ourselves; for if this be done, then
“ they

“ they will have provifions in the greateft plenty,
 “ who can take and fecure the moft of them, and
 “ they that are inferior in ftrength will be befieged.
 “ But now we are juft in the fame cafe with thofe
 “ that are upon a voyage at fea; for the part that
 “ they have failed over, they do not leave fo as to
 “ make it fafer for them, than the other part that
 “ they have not failed: But if we have fortrefles,
 “ thefe will alienate the territory from the enemy,
 “ and all things will be with- us ferene and quiet.
 “ As for what fome of you may be apprehenfive of,
 “ in cafe you are obliged to keep garrifon at a dif-
 “ tance from your own territory, do not let this be
 “ any concern to you; for we will take upon us to
 “ guard thofe parts that are the neareft to the enemy,
 “ fince we are at a great diftance from home; and
 “ do you take poffeffion of the borders between you
 “ and the *Assyrian* territory, and cultivate them.
 “ And if we are able to guard and preferve thofe
 “ parts that are in the enemies neighbourhood, you
 “ who keep thofe other parts that are at a greater
 “ diftance from them, will certainly live in great
 “ peace and quiet. For I do not believe that they
 “ can think of forming defigns upon you that are at
 “ a diftance, and neglect dangers that are at hand.”

AFTER this had been faid, all the reft of them
 rifing up, declared that they would join heartily in
 putting thefe things in execution. And *Cyaxares*,
Gadatas, and *Gobrias*, faid, that if the allies would
 give them leave, they would each of them build a
 fort,

fort, that the allies might have those places in their interest. *Cyrus*, therefore, when he saw them all so zealous in the execution of the things he had mentioned, concluded thus: “If we intend, therefore, “to effect what we agree ought to be done, we ought “as soon as possible to be supplied with engines to “demolish the forts of the enemy; and with builders “to erect bulwarks of our own.” Upon this *Cyaxares* promised to make and supply them with one engine; *Gadatas* and *Gobrias* promised another; *Tygranes* another; and another, *Cyrus* said, that he would endeavour to make. When they were determined upon these things, they procured artificers for the making of these engines, and every one provided the materials necessary for their fabric, and they established as presidents, and overseers of the work, certain persons that seemed the most proper for the employment.

CYRUS, when he found that there would be some time taken up in these affairs, encamped the army in a situation that he judged to be the most healthy and most easily accessible, with respect to all things that were necessary to be brought thither. And he did whatever was necessary to the making it strong, that they who always remained there, might be in safety, though the main strength of the army should at any time march at a distance from the camp. And, besides, he enquired of those he thought knew the country best, from what parts of it the army might be supplied with all things that were of use to them, in the greatest plenty. He led them
T always

always abroad to get provision and forage, both that he might procure the greatest plenty of necessaries for the army, that his men, inured to labour by these marches, might gain health and vigour; and that in marching they might preserve in their memories the order they were to keep.

CYRUS was employed in these affairs, when deserters from *Babylon*, and prisoners taken, gave an account that the *Assyrian* was gone to *Lydia*, carrying with him many talents of gold and silver, and other treasures, and rich ornaments of all kinds. The body of the soldiery supposed that he was already putting his treasures out of the way for fear; but *Cyrus* judging that he went in order to collect a force against him, if he were able to effect it, prepared himself, on the other hand, with a great deal of vigour, as thinking that he should be again forced to come to an engagement. Accordingly he compleated the *Persian* body of horse; some horses he got from the prisoners, and some from his friends; for these things he accepted from all; rejecting nothing, neither a fine weapon, nor a horse, if any one presented him with it. Chariots likewise he fitted up, both out of those that were taken, and from whence-soever else he was able to get supplied with what was necessary towards it.

THE *Trojan* method of using chariots that was practised of old, and that way of managing them that is yet in use amongst the *Cyrenæans*, he abolished. For formerly the *Medes*, *Syrians*, and *Arabians*, and
all

all the people of *Asia*, used the same method with respect to their chariots, that the *Cyrenæans* do at this time; and he was of opinion, that the very best of the men being mounted upon chariots, they that probably constituted the chief strength of the army, had the part only of skirmishers at a distance, and had no great share in the gaining of a victory. For three hundred chariots afford three hundred combatants, and these take up twelve hundred horses; then their drivers probably are such, as these men that are the best of the army chiefly confide in; and here again are three hundred others, and they such as do the enemy no manner of mischief. Therefore this sort of management, with respect to their chariots, he abolished; and instead of this, he provided a sort of warlike chariots, with wheels of great strength, so as not to be easily broken, and with axle-trees that were long, because things that carry breadth are less liable to be overturned. The box for the drivers he made like a turret, and with strong pieces of timber; and the highest of these boxes reached up to the elbows of the drivers, that, reaching over those boxes, they might drive the horses. The drivers he covered all but their eyes with armour. To the axle-trees, on each side of the wheels, he added steel scythes of about two cubits in length, and below, under the axle-tree, he fixed others pointing to the ground; as intending with these chariots to break in upon the enemy. As *Cyrus* at that time contrived these chariots, so to this day

T 2

they

they use them in the king's territory. He had likewise camels in great number; such as were collected from amongst his friends, and those that were taken from the enemy, being all brought together.

THUS were these things performed. But he, being desirous to send some spy into *Lydia*, and to learn what the *Assyrian* did, was of opinion, that *Araspes*, the guardian of the beautiful woman, was a proper person to go upon that errand. For with *Araspes*, things had fallen out in this manner.

HAVING fallen in love with the woman, he was forced to make proposals to her concerning a more intimate commerce with each other. But she denied him, and was faithful to her husband, though he was absent, for she loved him very much. Yet she did not accuse *Araspes* to *Cyrus*, being unwilling to make a quarrel between men that were friends. Then *Araspes*, thinking to forward the success of his inclinations, threatened the woman, that if she would not yield to the thing willingly, she should submit to it against her will. Upon this the woman, being in fear of violation, concealed the matter no longer, but sent an eunuch to *Cyrus*, with orders to tell him the whole affair. He, when he heard it, laughed at this man that had said he was above the power of love. He sent *Artabazus* with the eunuch, and commanded him to tell *Araspes*, that he should not do violence to such a woman; but if he could prevail with her by persuasion, he said, that he would be no hindrance to him. But *Artabazus*
coming

coming to *Araspes*, reproached him, calling the woman a deposit that had been trusted in his hands! and telling him of his impiety, injustice, and impotence of his passion! so that *Araspes* shed many tears for grief, was overwhelmed with shame, and almost dead with fear, lest he should suffer some severity at the hands of *Cyrus*. *Cyrus* being informed of this, sent for him, and spoke to him by himself alone:

“ I see, *Araspes*! (said he,) that you are very
“ much in fear of me, and very much ashamed.
“ But give them both over, for I have heard, that
“ gods have been conquered by love; I know how
“ much men, that have been accounted very wise, have
“ suffered by love; and I pronounced upon myself, that
“ if I conversed with beautiful people, I was not enough
“ master of myself to disregard them; and I am the
“ cause that this has befallen you, for I shut you up with
“ this irresistible thing.” — *Araspes* then said, in reply,
“ You are in this too, *Cyrus*, as you are in other
“ things, mild, and disposed to forgive the errors of
“ men! But other men, (said he,) overwhelm me
“ with grief and concern; for the rumour of my
“ misfortune is got abroad, my enemies are pleased
“ with it, and my friends come to me, and advise
“ me to get out of the way, lest I suffer some severity
“ at your hands, as having been guilty of a very
“ great injustice.”

THEN *Cyrus* said, “ Be it known to you,
“ therefore, *Araspes*! that by means of this very
“ opinion that people have taken up, it is in

“ your power to gratify me in a very high degree,
 “ and to do very great service to our allies.” “ I wish,
 (said *Araspes*,) “ that I had an opportunity of being
 “ again of use to you.” “ Therefore, (said he,)
 “ if you would make as if you fled from me, and
 “ would go over to the enemy, I believe that the
 “ enemy would trust you.” “ And I know, by
 “ *Jove*! (said *Araspes*,) that I should give occasion
 “ to have it said by my friends that I fled from you.”
 “ Then you might return to us, (said he,) apprised of
 “ all the enemy’s affairs. I believe that, upon their
 “ giving credit to you, they would make you a
 “ sharer in their debates and counsels, so that nothing
 “ would be concealed from you that I would de-
 “ sire you should know.” — “ I will go then, (said he,)
 “ now out of hand, for be assured, that my being
 “ thought to have made my escape as one that were
 “ just about to receive punishment at your hands,
 “ will be one of the things that will give me
 “ credit.”

“ AND can you, (said he,) leave the beautiful
 “ *Panthea*?” — “ Yes, *Cyrus*! for I have plainly
 “ two souls. I have now philosophized this point
 “ out by the help of that wicked sophister love;
 “ for a single soul cannot be a good one and a bad
 “ one at the same time; nor can it at the same
 “ time affect noble actions and vile ones. It cannot
 “ incline and be averse to the same things at the
 “ same time. But it is plain there are two souls, and
 “ when the good one prevails, it does noble things;

“ when

“when the ill one prevails, it attempts vile things.
“But now that it has got you for a support, the
“good one prevails, and that very much.”—“If
“you think it proper therefore to be gone, (said
Cyrus,) “thus you must do, in order to gain the
“greater credit with them. Relate to them the
“state of our affairs, and relate it so, as that what
“you say may be as great a hindrance as possible to
“what they intend to do: and it would be some
“hindrance to them, if you should say that we are
“preparing to make an incursion into some part
“of their territory; for when they hear this, they
“will be less able to assemble their whole force
“together, every one being in fear for something
“at home. Then stay with them, (said he,) as long
“you can. For what they do when they are the
“nearest us, will be the most for our purpose to
“know. Advise them likewise to form themselves
“into such an order, as may be thought the strongest,
“for when you come away, and are supposed to be
“apprized of their order, they will be under a
“necessity to keep to it, for they will be afraid of
“making a change in it, and if they do make a
“change, by their being so near at hand, it will
“create confusion amongst them.”

ARASPE setting out in this manner, and taking with him such of his servants as he chiefly confided in, and telling some certain persons such things as he thought might be of service to his undertaking, went his way.

PANTHEA, as soon as she perceived that *Araspes* was gone, sending to *Cyrus*, told him thus: “Do
 “not be afflicted, *Cyrus*! that *Araspes* is gone off
 “to the enemy, for if you will allow me to
 “send to my husband, I engage that there will come
 “to you one who will be a much more faithful
 “friend to you than *Araspes*. I know that he will
 “attend you with all the force that he is able, for
 “the father of the prince that now reigns was his
 “friend; but he who at present reigns, attempted
 “once to part us from each other; and reckoning
 “him therefore an unjust man, I know that he
 “would joyfully revolt from him to such a man as
 “you are.”

CYRUS hearing this, ordered her to send to her husband; she sent: and when *Abradatas* discovered the signs from his wife, and perceived how matters stood as to the other particulars, he marched joyfully away to *Cyrus*, having about two thousand horse with him. When he came up with the *Persian* scouts, he sent to *Cyrus* to tell him who he was. *Cyrus* immediately ordered them to conduct him to his wife.

WHEN *Abradatas* and his wife saw each other, they mutually embraced, as was natural to do, upon an occasion so unexpected. Upon this *Panthea* told him of the sanctity and virtue of *Cyrus*, and of his pity and compassion towards her. *Abradatas*, having heard of it, said, “What can I do, *Panthea*,
 “to pay my gratitude to *Cyrus* for you and for
 “myself?”

“myself?” “What else, (said *Panthea*,) but endeavour to behave towards him as he has done towards you.”—Upon this, *Abradatas* came to *Cyrus*, and as soon as he saw him, taking him by the right hand, he said, “In return of the benefits you have bestowed upon us, *Cyrus*! I have nothing of more consequence to say, than that I give myself to you as a friend, a servant, and an ally; and whatever designs I observe you to be engaged in, I will endeavour to be the best assistant to you in them that I am able.” Then *Cyrus* said, “I accept your offer, and dismiss you at this time to take your supper with your wife; but at some other time you must take a meal with me in my tent, together with your friends and mine.”

AFTER this, *Abradatas* observing *Cyrus* to be employed about the chariots armed with scythes, and about those horses and horsemen that were cloathed in armour, endeavoured, out of his own body of horse, to fit him up a hundred such chariots as his were, and he prepared himself, as being to lead them, mounted upon a chariot himself. His own chariot he framed with four perches and for eight horses. His wife, *Panthea*, out of her own treasures, made him a corselet of gold and a golden head-piece, and arm-pieces of the same; and the horses of his chariot she provided with brass defences. These things *Abradatas* performed. And *Cyrus* observing his chariot with four perches, considered that it might be possible to make one with eight,

eight, so as to draw the lower frame of these machines with eight yoke of oxen. This engine, together with its wheels, was upwards of fifteen feet from the ground; and he believed that turrets of this kind following in the line, might be of great help to his own phalanx, and do great prejudice to the line of the enemy. Upon these frames he made open places to move about in, and strong defences; and upon each of these turrets he mounted twenty men. When all things with respect to these turrets were compleated to his hand, he made an experiment of their draught, and eight yoke of oxen drew a turret and the men upon it, with more ease than each yoke drew the common baggage-weight. For the weight of baggage was about five and twenty talents to each yoke; but the draught of a turret, whose wooden frame was as broad as a tragic stage, together with twenty men, and their arms, amounted but to fifteen talents to each yoke. When he found that the draught was easy, he prepared for the marching these turrets with the army, reckoning, that to take all advantages was both safe and just, and of happy consequence in war.

At this time there came from the *Indian* certain persons who brought treasure, and gave him an account that the *Indian* sent him word thus:—"I am
" pleased, *Cyrus*, that you gave me an account of
" what you wanted; I have a mind to engage in
" friendship with you, and I send you treasure. If
" you

“you want any thing else send me word. They
“that come from me have it in charge to do what-
“ever you order them.”

CYRUS, hearing this, said, “I order, then, that
“some of you remaining here, where you have
“pitched your tents, may guard the treasure, and
“live as is most agreeable to you; but let three of
“you go on to the enemy, as coming from the *In-*
“*dian*, to treat of an alliance, and getting yourselves
“informed of what is said and done there, give me
“and the *Indian* an account of it, as soon as is pos-
“sible; and if you serve me well in this, I shall be
“yet more obliged to you than for your coming
“hither and bringing me treasure: For such spies as
“appear men of servile condition, are not able to
“know or give an account of any thing more than
“what all people know; but such men as you are
“often let into the knowledge of designs and coun-
“fels.”—The *Indians* hearing this with pleasure,
and being upon that occasion entertained by *Cyrus*,
made all things ready, and the next day went away,
promising faithfully to get informed of as many of
the enemy’s concerns as they were able, and to come
away as soon as possible.

CYRUS made all other preparations for the war
in the most magnificent manner, as being a man
who projected to perform no inconsiderable things,
and withal did not only take care of such things as
he thought proper for his allies, but raised amongst
his friends an emulation to appear armed in the
hand.

handsomest manner, to appear the most skilled in horsemanship, at throwing of the javelin, and in the use of the bow, and the most ready to undergo any fatigue. This he effected by leading them out to hunt, and rewarding those that were the ablest in the several performances: And those commanders that he observed to be most careful to make their soldiers excel, those he animated by praising them, and by gratifying them in all that he was able. If at any time he made a sacrifice, or solemnized a festival, he appointed games upon the occasion, in all the several things that men practise upon the account of war, and gave magnificent rewards to the conquerors; and there was a mighty cheerfulness in the army.

ALL things that *Cyrus* had a mind to have with him for the service, were now almost compleated to his hands, except the engines; for the *Persian* horsemen were filled up to ten thousand; the chariots armed with scythes, that he himself provided, were now a hundred compleat; those that *Abradatas*, the *Susian*, undertook to provide, like those of *Cyrus*, were likewise compleat a hundred; and the *Median* chariots, that *Cyrus* had persuaded *Cyaxares* to change from the *Trojan* and *Lybian* form and method, were likewise made up to another hundred; the camels were mounted by two archers upon each, and most of the army stood disposed as if they had already conquered, and the affairs of the enemy were reduced to nothing.

WHILE

WHILE they were in this disposition, the *Indians* that *Cyrus* had sent to get intelligence came back from the enemy, and said, that *Cræsus* was chosen general and leader of all the enemy's forces; that all the princes in their alliance had determined to attend each with his whole force, to contribute mighty sums of money, and to lay them out in stipends to all those that they could hire, and in presents where it was proper; that they had already hired a great number of *Thracians* armed with large swords; that the *Ægyptians* were under sail to come to them, and the number of these, they said, amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand, armed with large shields that reached down to their feet, with mighty spears, such as they use at this day, and with swords: They said, that a body of *Cyprians* was under sail to join them, and that all the *Cilicians*, the men of both the *Phrygias*, the *Lycaonians*, *Paphlagonians*, *Cappadocians*, *Arabians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Assyrians*, with the prince of *Babylon*, were already joined; that the *Ionians*, the *Æolians*, and all the *Greek* colonies in *Asia*, were obliged to attend *Cræsus*, and that *Cræsus* had sent to *Lacedæmon* to treat of an alliance with them; that this army assembled about the river *Pactolus*, and was about to advance to *Thybarra*, where all the barbarians of the lower *Syria*, that are subjects to the king, assemble at this day; that orders were given out to all, to convey provisions and all things thither, as to the general market. The prisoners likewise related almost the same things, for *Cyrus* took care that prisoners

soners should be taken, in order to get information, and he sent out spies, that seemed to be of servile condition, as deserters.

WHEN the army of *Cyrus* came to hear all this, every body was under concern, as it was natural for them to be. They went up and down in a sedate way than they used to do, and the multitude did not appear chearful; but they got together in circles, and all places were full of people, asking each other questions concerning these matters, and discoursing together. When *Cyrus* perceived that terror was spreading apace through the army, he called together the commanders of the several bodies, together with all such whose dejection might prove to be any ways prejudicial, or their alacrity of use, and told his servants before-hand, that if any other of the soldiers attended to hear his discourse, they should not hinder them. When they were assembled, he said:

“ FRIENDS and allies! I have called you together,
“ because I observed, that since these accounts are
“ come from the enemy, some of you appear like
“ men that are terrified: For to me it appears strange,
“ that any of you should be really terrified at the
“ enemies being said to assemble their forces, be-
“ cause we are at this time met in much greater
“ numbers than we were when we beat them, and,
“ with the help of the gods, are now better prepared
“ than before; and when you see this, does it not
“ give you courage? In the name of the gods, (said
he,) “ if you are afraid now, what had you done if
“ people

“ people had given you an account that the enemies
“ were advancing upon you with all the advantages
“ on their side, that we have on ours? And in the
“ first place, (said he,) had you heard that they who
“ had beaten us before were coming upon us again
“ with minds full of the victory they had obtained;
“ that they who at that time slighted the distant
“ discharge of arrows and javelins, were coming with
“ multitudes more armed like themselves; and then
“ that as these heavy-armed men at that time conquered our foot, so now their horsemen, provided
“ in the same manner, advanced against our horse;
“ and that rejecting bows and javelins, each of them
“ armed with one strong lance, had it in their intention to push up to us and engage hand to hand;
“ that there are chariots coming that are not to be
“ planted as heretofore, and turned away as for
“ flight, but that the horses of these chariots are
“ covered with armour, the drivers stand in wooden
“ turrets, and all upwards are covered with their
“ corselets and helms, and steel scythes are fixed to
“ the axle-trees, and that these are ready to drive in
“ immediately upon the ranks of those that stand in
“ opposition to them; besides that, they have camels
“ upon which they ride up to us, and one of which
“ a hundred horses will not bear the sight of; and
“ yet farther, that they advance with certain towers,
“ from whence they can support their own people,
“ and by discharging their weapons upon you,
“ hinder you from fighting upon even ground with
“ them!

“ them!—Had any one told you that the enemies
 “ were possessed of all these things, if you are afraid
 “ now, what had you done then? But when you
 “ have an account that *Cræsus* is chosen the enemy’s
 “ general, he who behaved himself so much worse
 “ than the *Syrians*, that the *Syrians* were beaten be-
 “ fore they fled, but *Cræsus*, when he saw them
 “ beaten, instead of supporting his allies, fled and
 “ made his escape! And when it is told you that the
 “ same enemies are not thought sufficient to engage
 “ us, but that they hire others that they think will
 “ fight their battles for them better than they do for
 “ themselves!—If these are such things as appear
 “ terrible to any, and that the state of our own affairs
 “ appears mean and contemptible to them;—these
 “ men, my friends, I say, ought to go their ways to
 “ the enemy; for by being there they will do us
 “ more service than they will by being amongst us.”

WHEN *Cyrus* had said this, *Chrysantas* the *Persian*
 spoke thus:—“ O *Cyrus*! do not wonder that some
 “ people carry sad countenances upon having heard
 “ these accounts; for it is not fear that affects them
 “ thus, but it is grief. For, (said he,) if people that
 “ had a mind to get their dinners, and were just in
 “ expectation of it, were told of some work that
 “ was necessary to be done before they dined, no-
 “ body, I believe, would be pleased with hearing it.
 “ Just so, therefore, while we are in present expecta-
 “ tion of enriching ourselves, and then hear that
 “ there is still some work left that of necessity must
 “ be

“ be done, we look sad, not out of fear, but because
“ we want to have that work already over. But
“ since we are not only contending for *Syria*, where
“ there is corn in abundance, flocks, and fruitful
“ palms, but for *Lydia* too, where wine and figs and
“ oil abound, and a land whose shores the sea washes ;
“ by which means such numbers of valuable things
“ are brought thither as no one ever saw. Consider-
“ ing these things, we are no longer dejected, but
“ have full confidence that we shall soon enjoy these
“ valuable productions of *Lydia*.” — Thus he spoke ;
and all the allies were pleased with his discourse,
and applauded it.

“ AND indeed, my friends ! said *Cyrus*, my opinion
“ is to march up to them as soon as possible, that if
“ we can we may prevent them, and first reach those
“ places where all their conveniencies are got toge-
“ ther for them ; and then the sooner we march to
“ them, the fewer things we shall find them pro-
“ vided with, and the more things we shall find them
“ in want of. This I give as my opinion : if any
“ one think any other course safer and easier to us,
“ let him inform us.”

AFTER a great many had expressed their concurrence in its being proper to march as soon as possible to the enemy, and that no body said to the contrary ; upon this, *Cyrus* began a discourse to this effect :

“ FRIENDS and allies ! our minds, our bodies, and
“ the arms that we are to use, have been, with the
“ help of the gods ! long since provided to our hands.

“ It is now our business to provide necessaries upon
“ our march for not less than twenty days, both for
“ ourselves, and as many beasts as we make use of.
“ For upon calculation, I find that the way we are
“ to go, will take us up more than fifteen days, and
“ upon the road we shall find no sort of necessaries;
“ for every thing that was possible has been taken
“ and carried off, partly by ourselves, and partly by
“ the enemy. We must, therefore, put up a suf-
“ ficient quantity of food, for without this, we can
“ neither fight, nor can we live ; but of wine, as much
“ as is enough to accustom us to drink water ; for
“ great part of the way that we are to take, is entirely
“ unprovided with wine, and were we to put up a
“ very great quantity of it, it would not suffice us.
“ Therefore, that we may not fall into distempers by
“ being deprived of wine all on a sudden, we must
“ do thus, we must begin now immediately to drink
“ water with our food : for by doing this now, we
“ shall make no very great change ; for whoever feeds
“ upon things made of flour, eats the mass mixed up
“ with water, and he that feeds upon bread, eats the
“ loaf that is first moistened and worked up with
“ water ; and all boiled meats are made ready with a
“ great quantity of water. But if after our meal we
“ drink a little wine upon it, our stomach not having
“ less than usual, rests satisfied. Then afterwards
“ we must cut off even this allowance after supper,
“ till at last we become insensibly water-drinkers.
“ For an alteration, little by little, brings any nature
“ to

“ to bear a total change. God himself teaches us
“ this, by bringing us, little by little, from the midst
“ of winter to bear very great heat, and from the
“ heat to bear very great cold. And we, in imita-
“ tion of him, ought by custom and practice to reach
“ the end we should attain to. Spare the weight of
“ fine quilts and carpets, and make it up in neces-
“ saries; for a superfluity of things necessary will
“ not be useless. But if you happen to be without
“ these carpets, you need not be afraid that you shall
“ not lie and sleep with pleasure. If it prove other-
“ wise than I say, then blame me. But to have plenty
“ of cloaths with a man, is a great help to one both
“ in health and sickness. And of meats we ought to
“ put up those that are a good deal sharp, acid, and
“ salt; for they create appetite, and are a lasting
“ nourishment. And when we come into those parts
“ of the country that are untouched, where probably
“ we shall find corn, we ought to be provided with
“ hand-mills, by taking them with us from hence,
“ that we may use them in making our bread; for
“ of all the instruments that are used in making bread,
“ these are the lightest. We ought likewise to put
“ up quantities of such things as are wanted by sick
“ people; for their bulk is but very little, and if such
“ a chance befall us, we shall want them very much.
“ We must likewise have store of straps, for most
“ things both about men and horses are fastened by
“ straps, and when they wear out or break, there is a
“ necessity of standing still, unless one can get supplied

“ with them. Whoever has learnt the skill of po-
“ lishing a lance, it will be well for him not to
“ forget a polisher, and he will do well to carry a file.
“ For he that sharpens his spear, sharpens his soul
“ at the same time ; for there is a sort of shame in it
“ that one who sharpens his lance, should himself be
“ cowardly and dull. We ought likewise to have
“ plenty of timber with us, for the chariots and
“ carriages ; for in many affairs many things will of
“ necessity be defective. And we ought to be pro-
“ vided with the tools and instruments that are the
“ most necessary for all these things, for artificers are
“ not every where to be met with ; nor will a few of
“ them be sufficient for our daily work. To every
“ carriage we should have a cutting-hook and a
“ spade ; and to each beast of burthen, a pick-axe
“ and a scythe ; for these things are useful to every
“ one in particular, and are often serviceable to the
“ public. Therefore, with respect to the things that
“ are necessary for food, do you that are commanders
“ of the soldiery, examine those that are under you ;
“ for in whatever of these things any one is defective,
“ it must not be passed by ; for we shall be in want
“ of these. And as to those things that I order to
“ be carried by the beasts of burthen, do you that
“ are the commanders of those that belong to the
“ baggage-train, examine into them ; and the man
“ that has them not, do you oblige to provide them.
“ And do you that are the commanders of those that
“ clear the ways, take down in a list from me, such

“ as

“ as are turned out from among the throwers of the
“ javelin, the archers, and the slingers. And those
“ that are taken from amongst the throwers of the
“ javelin, you must oblige to serve with an axe, for
“ cutting of wood. Those that are taken from the
“ archers, with a spade, and those from the slingers,
“ with a cutting-hook. These must march in troops
“ before the carriages, that in case the way wants to
“ be mended, you may presently set to work, and that
“ if I want any thing to be done, I may know from
“ whence to take them for my use. And I will take
“ with me smiths, carpenters, and leather-cutters,
“ with all their proper tools, and who shall be men
“ of an age fit to attend the service; that nothing of
“ what is necessary to be done in the army, in the
“ way of those arts, may be wanting. And these shall
“ all be exempt and disengaged from the military
“ ranks, but shall be placed in their proper order,
“ ready to do service for any one that will hire them
“ in the ways that they are severally skilled in. And
“ if any tradesman has a mind to attend, with inten-
“ tion to sell any thing, he must have necessaries for
“ the days before mentioned; and if he be found to
“ sell any thing during those days, all that he has
“ shall be taken from him; but when these days are
“ past, he may sell as he pleases. And whoever of
“ these traders shall be found to furnish the greatest
“ plenty of the things that he deals in, he shall meet
“ with reward and honour from our allies and from
“ me. If any one thinks that he wants money to

“ purchase things, let him bring people that know
 “ him, and will be responsible for him that he will
 “ certainly attend the army; and then let him take
 “ of what belongs to us.

“ THESE are the things that I order; if any one
 “ knows of any other thing that is proper, let him
 “ signify it to me: do you go your ways, and put
 “ up every thing.—I intend to make a sacrifice, on
 “ our setting forward; and when our divine affairs
 “ stand right, we will give the signal. All must
 “ attend with the things before ordered, in their
 “ proper posts, under their several commanders:
 “ and do you commanders, each of you, putting his
 “ division into good order, all come and confer with
 “ me, that you may learn your several posts.”—They
 hearing this, made their preparations; and he made
 a sacrifice.

AND when the sacred rites were performed in a
 happy manner, he set forward with the army, and
 the first day encamped at as small a distance as he
 could, that in case any one had forgot any thing he
 might fetch it; and that if any one found himself in
 want of any thing, he might provide it. *Cyaxares*
 therefore, with the third part of the *Medes*, staid
 behind, that affairs at home might not be left
 destitute.

AND *Cyrus* marched with the utmost dispatch,
 having the horse at the head of the whole, but al-
 ways making the discoverers and scouts mount up
 before to such places as were most proper to take
 their

their views from ; after the horse he led the baggage-train, and where the country was open and plain, he marched the carriages and beasts of burthen in several lines. The phalanx marched after, and if any of the baggage-train was left behind, those of the commanders that were at hand took care of it, that they might not be hindered in their march : but where their road was more contracted, he ranged the train in the middle, and the soldiers marched on each side ; and if they met with any hindrance, those of the soldiers that were at hand took care about it. The several regiments marched for the most part with their own baggage near them, for it was given in charge to those of the train, to march each part of them by the regiment they belonged to, unless some necessity kept them from doing it, and every officer of the train led on with the colonel's ensign or mark that was known to the men of their several regiments ; so that they marched in close order, and every one took very great care of their own, that it might not be left behind ; and by doing thus, they were in no need of seeking for each other, all things were at hand and in more safety, and the soldiers were the more readily supplied with what they wanted.

BUT as soon as the advanced scouts thought that they saw men in the plain getting forage and wood, and saw beasts of burthen laden with such kind of things, and feeding ; and then again taking a view at a greater distance, they thought that they observed smoke or dust rising up into the air : from all these

things they concluded, that the enemy's army was somewhere near at hand. The commander of the scouts therefore immediately sent one to *Cyrus* to tell him these things.

HE having heard these things, commanded them to remain in the same viewing places, and whatever new thing they saw, to give him an account of it. He sent a regiment of horse forward, and commanded them to endeavour to take some of the men that were in the plain, that they might get a clearer insight into the matter: they that were thus ordered did accordingly. He made a disposition of the rest of his army in such a manner, that they might be provided with whatever he thought fitting before they came up close to the enemy; and first he made it be proclaimed, that they should take their dinners, and then wait in their ranks, attentive to their farther orders. When they had dined, he called together the several commanders of the horse, foot, and chariots, of the engines, baggage, train and carriages, and they met accordingly; they that made an excursion into the plain, taking certain people prisoners, brought them off.

THESE that were taken being asked by *Cyrus*, told him that they came off from their army, and passing their advanced guard, came out, some for forage and some for wood; for by means of the multitude that the army consisted of, all things were very scarce. *Cyrus* hearing this, said: "And how far is the army from hence?" They told him about

two parasangs. Upon this *Cyrus* asked, “And is
“there any discourse amongst them concerning us?”
“Yes, by *Jove*! (said they,) a great deal, particu-
“larly that you are already near at hand advancing
“upon them.” “Well, then! (said *Cyrus*) did they
“rejoice at the hearing it?” And this he asked for
the sake of those that were by. “No, by *Jove*, (said
they,) “they did not rejoice, but were very much
“concerned.” “And at this time, (said *Cyrus*),
“what are they doing?” “They are forming in
“order, (said they,) and both yesterday and the
“day before they were employed in the same work.”
“And he that makes their disposition, (said *Cyrus*),
“who is he?” “*Cræsus* himself, (said they,) and
“with him a certain *Greek*, another besides, who is
“a *Mede*, and this man was said to be a deserter
“from you.” Then *Cyrus* said, “O greatest *Jove*!
“may I be able to take this man as I desire!”

UPON this he ordered them to carry off the pri-
soners, and turned to the people that were present,
as if he were going to say something. At that in-
stant there came another man from the commander
of the scouts, who told him, that there appeared a
great body of horse in the plain; “And we guess,
(said he,) “that they are marching with intention to
“take a view of the army; for before this body,
“there is another party of about thirty horse, that
“march with great diligence, and directly against
“us, perhaps with intention to seize our station for
“viewing if they can, and we are but a single decad
“upon

“upon that station.” Then *Cyrus* ordered a party of those horse that always attended him, to march and put themselves in a place under the viewing-station, and keeping themselves concealed from the enemy, to be quiet. “And when our deced (said he) “quits the station, then do you rush out, and “attack those that mount it; and that the enemy’s “greater body may not do you mischief, do you, “*Hystaspes*! (said he,) march with a thousand horse, “and appear in opposition to the enemy’s body, “and do not pursue up to any undiscovered place; “but when you have taken care to maintain the “possession of your viewing-stations, then come back “to me; and if any men ride up to you, with their “right-hands extended, receive them as friends.” *Hystaspes* went away, and armed himself; those that attended *Cyrus* marched immediately; and on this side the viewing-places, *Araspes*, with his servants, met them, he that had been some time since sent away as a spy, and was the guardian of the *Susian* woman.

CYRUS therefore, as soon as he saw him, leaped from his seat, met him, and received him with his right-hand; the rest, as was natural, knowing nothing of the matter, were struck with the thing; till *Cyrus* said, “My friends! here comes to us a brave “man! for now it is fit that all men should know “what he has done. This man went away, not for “any base thing that he was loaded with, or for any “fear of me, but he was sent by me; that learning

“the

“ the state of the enemy’s affairs for us, he might
“ make us a clear report of them. What I promised
“ you, therefore, *Araspes*, I remember, and with the
“ assistance of all these that are here I will perform
“ it: And it is just that all you, my friends, should
“ pay him honour as a brave man; for to do us ser-
“ vice he has thrown himself into dangers, and has
“ borne that load of reproach that fell so heavy upon
“ him.”—Upon this, they all embraced *Araspes*,
and gave him their right-hand.

THEN *Cyrus*, telling them that there was enough
of this, said: “ Give us an account, *Araspes*, of these
“ things, and do not abate any thing of the truth
“ with respect to the enemy’s affairs; for it is better
“ that we should think them greater, and see them
“ less, than hear them to be less, and find them
“ greater.” “ I acted (said *Araspes*) in such a man-
“ ner, as to get the clearest insight into them; for I
“ assisted in person at the making their disposition.”
“ You therefore (said *Cyrus*) know not only their
“ numbers, but their order too.” “ Yes, by *Jove*!
(said *Araspes*,) “ and I know the manner that they
“ intend to engage in.”—“ But in the first place, tell
“ us however, (said *Cyrus*,) in general, what their
“ numbers are?”—“ Well then, (said he,) they are all
“ ranged thirty in depth, both foot and horse, except
“ the *Ægyptians*, and they extended in front forty
“ stades, for I took very great care to know what
“ ground they took up.”—“ And then as to the
“ *Ægyptians*, (said *Cyrus*,) tell us how they are ranged,
“ for

“ for you said, except the *Ægyptians*.”—“ The com-
“ manders of ten thousand formed each of their bodies
“ into a hundred every way ; for this they say is their
“ order according to their custom at home ; but
“ *Cræsus* allowed them to form in this manner very
“ much against his will, for he was desirous to over-
“ front your army as much as possible.”—“ And
“ why (said *Cyrus*) does he desire this ? ”—“ Why,
“ by *Jove*, (said he,) in order to encompass you with
“ that part that exceeds you in front.”—Then *Cyrus*
said, “ But let them look to it, that the encom-
“ passers be not themselves encompassed. But we
“ have heard what is proper for us to be informed
“ of by you, and you, my friends, must act in this
“ manner.

“ As soon as you go from hence, examine the
“ arms that belong both to the horses and to your-
“ selves, for frequently, by the want of a little thing,
“ both man and horse and chariot become useless.
“ To-morrow in the morning, whilst I sacrifice, you
“ must first get your dinners, both men and horse,
“ that whatever opportunity of action offers itself, we
“ may not balk it ; then do you, *Araspes*, keep the
“ right wing as you do now, and let the other com-
“ manders of ten thousand keep the stations they now
“ are in ; for when a race is just ready to be entered
“ upon, there is no longer opportunity for any cha-
“ riot to shift horses. Give orders to the several
“ colonels and captains to form into a phalanx, with
“ each company drawn up two in front ; ”—and each
company

company consisted of four and twenty men. Then one of the commanders of ten thousand said : “ And
“ do you think, *Cyrus*, (said he,) that when we are
“ ranged but so many deep, we shall be strong
“ enough against phalanxes of that great depth ? ”

AND *Cyrus* replied : “ Phalanxes that are deeper
“ than to be able to reach the enemy with their
“ weapons, what injury (said he) do you think they
“ will do to the enemy, or what service to their fellow-
“ combatants ? For my part, (said he,) those soldiers
“ that are ranged a hundred in depth, I would rather
“ chuse to have ranged ten thousand in depth ; for by
“ that means we should have the fewer to engage ;
“ but by the number of men that form our phalanx
“ in depth, I reckon to make the whole act and
“ support itself. The throwers of the javelin I will
“ range behind the croſſet men, and behind the
“ throwers of the javelin the archers ; for who would
“ place those in front who themselves confess that
“ they cannot bear any engagement hand to hand ?
“ But when the croſſet-men are interposed before
“ them, then they stand ; and the one casting their
“ javelins, and the other discharging their arrows
“ over the heads of those that are ranged before
“ them, do execution upon the enemy ; and as
“ much mischief as any one does the enemy, it is
“ plain that so far he gives relief to his fellow-com-
“ batants. Last of all, I will place those that are
“ called the rear ; for as a house without a strong
“ ſtone-work, and without men that have the skill
“ to

“ to form the roof, is of no value, so neither is a
“ phalanx of any value without such as are service-
“ able both to the front and rear. Do you, then,
(said he,) “ form as I order you; and do you, com-
“ manders of the javelin men, form your several com-
“ panies in the same manner behind these: Do you,
“ commanders of the archers, form in the same man-
“ ner behind the javelin-men; and you, who com-
“ mand the rear, with your men placed last, give
“ orders to those under you, each of them to keep
“ his eye to those before him, to encourage those
“ that do their duty, to threaten severely such as be-
“ have cowardly, and if any one turn away with in-
“ tention to desert his station, to punish him with
“ death; for it is the business of those that are placed
“ before, both by words and actions, to encourage
“ those that follow; and you that are placed in the
“ rear of all must inspire the cowardly with greater
“ terror than the enemies themselves give them.
“ These things do you do. And do you, *Abradatas*,
“ who command those that belong to the engines,
“ take care that the oxen that draw the turrets, and
“ men belonging to them, follow up as close to the
“ phalanx as possible. And do you, *Daouchus*, who
“ command the baggage train, lead up all that kind
“ of people behind the turrets and engines, and let
“ your attendants severely punish those that are either
“ more advanced or more behind than they ought to
“ be. And do you, *Cardouchus*, who command the
“ waggon that carry the women, place these last
“ behind

“ behind the baggage-train ; for all these following
“ each other will make the appearance of a great
“ multitude, and will give us an opportunity of
“ forming an ambuscade ; and in case the enemy
“ have a mind to encompass us, will oblige them to
“ take a greater circuit, and the more ground they
“ encompass, so much the weaker must they of ne-
“ cessity be. And thus do you. But you, *Artabazus*
“ and *Artagerfas*, each of you, with the thou-
“ sand foot that attended you, keep behind these.
“ And you, *Pharnouchus* and *Asiadatas*, each with
“ your thousand horse, do not you form in the pha-
“ lanx, but arm by yourselves behind the waggons,
“ and then come to us, together with the rest of the
“ commanders ; but you ought to prepare yourselves
“ as being the first to engage. And do you, who
“ are the commanders of the men mounted upon
“ the camels, form behind the waggons, and act as
“ *Artagerfas* shall order you. And of you, leaders
“ of the chariots, let that man range his hundred
“ chariots in front before the phalanx who obtains
“ that station by lot, and let the other hundreds at-
“ tend the phalanx ranged upon the wings, one on
“ the right side and the other on the left.”

Thus *Cyrus* ordered.—But *Abradatas*, king of the
Susians, said, “ I take it voluntarily upon myself,
“ *Cyrus*, to hold to that station in front against the
“ opposite phalanx, unless you think otherwise.”—
Then *Cyrus*, being struck with admiration of the
man, and taking him by the right hand, asked the
Persians

Persians that belonged to others of the chariots, “Do you (said he) yield to this?” When they replied, that it would not be handsome in them to give it up, he brought them all to the lot, and by the lot *Abra-datas* obtained what he had taken upon himself, and he stood opposite to the *Ægyptians*. Then going their way, and taking care of the things that were before-mentioned, they took their suppers, and having placed their guards, they went to rest.

THE next day, in the morning, *Cyaxares* sacrificed, but the rest of the army, after having taken their dinners, and made their libations, equipped themselves with fine coats in great number, and with many fine croflets and helmets; the horses likewise they armed with forehead-pieces and breast-plates, the single horses with thigh-pieces, and those in the chariots with plates upon their sides; so that the whole army glittered with the brass, and appeared beautifully decked with scarlet habits.

The chariot of *Abra-datas*, that had four perches and eight horses, was compleatly adorned for him; and when he was going to put on his linen croflet, which was a sort of armour used by those of his country, *Panthea* brought him a golden helmet and arm-pieces, broad bracelets for his wrists, a purple habit that reached down to his feet, and hung in folds at the bottom, and a crest dyed of a violet colour. These things she had made unknown to her husband, and by taking the measure of his armour. He wondered when he saw them, and enquired thus of *Panthea*.

Panthea. “And have you made these arms, woman!
“by destroying your own ornaments?” “No, by
“*Jove!* (said *Panthea*,) not what is the most valuable
“of them; for it is you, if you appear to others to
“be what I think you, that will be my greatest orna-
“ment.”—And saying this, she put him on the
armour; and though she endeavoured to conceal it,
the tears poured down her cheeks. When *Abradatas*,
who was before a man of fine appearance, was set
out in these arms, he appeared the most beautiful and
noble of all, especially being likewise so by nature.
Then taking the reins from the driver, he was just
preparing to mount the chariot; upon this, *Panthea*,
after she had desired all that were there present to re-
tire, said —

“O, *Abradatas!* if ever there was another woman
“who had greater regard to her husband than to her
“own soul, I believe you know that I am one of
“them! What need I therefore speak of things in
“particular? for I reckon that my actions have con-
“vinced you more than any words I can now use.
“And yet, though I stand thus affected towards you,
“as you know I do, I swear by this friendship of
“mine and yours, that I certainly would rather
“chuse to be put under ground jointly with you,
“approving yourself a brave man, than to live with
“you in disgrace and shame; so much do I think
“you and myself worthy of the noblest things!
“Then I reckon we both lie under a great obliga-

“tion to *Cyrus*; that when I was a captive, and
 “chosen out for himself, he thought fit to take me
 “neither as a slave, nor indeed as a free-woman of
 “mean account; but he took and kept me for you,
 “as if I were his brother’s wife: Besides, when *A-*
 “*raspes*, who was my guard, went away from him,
 “I promised him, that if he would allow me to send
 “for you, you would come to him, and approve
 “yourself a much better and more faithful friend
 “than *Araspes*.”

Thus she spoke. And *Abradatas*, being struck with
 admiration at her discourse, laying his hand gently
 upon her head, and lifting up his eyes to heaven,
 made this prayer.—“Do thou, O greatest *Jove*!
 “grant me to appear a husband worthy of *Panthea*!
 “and a friend worthy of *Cyrus*, who has done us so
 “much honour!”

Having said this, he mounted the chariot by the
 door of the driver’s seat; and after his being got up,
 when the driver shut the door of the seat, *Panthea*,
 who had now no other way to salute him, kissed the
 seat of the chariot. The chariot then moved on;
 and she, unknown to him, followed, till *Abradatas*
 turning about and seeing her, said, “Take courage,
 “*Panthea*!—Fare you happily and well! and now
 “go your ways.” Upon this her eunuchs and
 women-servants took and conducted her to her con-
 veyance, and laying her down, concealed her by
 throwing the covering of a tent over her. The peo-
 ple,

ple, though *Abradatas* and his chariot made a noble spectacle, were not able to look at him till *Panthea* was gone.

But when *Cyrus* had happily sacrificed, the army was formed for him according to his orders; and taking possession of the viewing stations one before another, he called the leaders together and spoke thus:

“ Friends and fellow-soldiers ! The gods, in our
“ sacred rites, have exposed to us the same happy
“ signs they did before when they gave us victory :
“ And I am desirous to put you in mind of some
“ such things, as by your recollecting them, will, in
“ my opinion, make you march with much more
“ courage to the enemy. For you are better prac-
“ tised in the affairs of war than our enemies are ;
“ and you have been bred up together in this, and
“ formed to it a much longer time than our enemies
“ have been. You have been fellow-conquerors to-
“ gether ; whereas many of our enemies have been
“ fellow-sharers in a defeat ; and of those on both
“ sides that have not yet been engaged in action,
“ they that are of our enemy’s side know, that they
“ have for their supports men that have been de-
“ serters of their station, and run-aways ; but you
“ that are with us know, that you act with men
“ zealous to assist their friends. It is probable then,
“ that they who have confidence in each other will
“ unanimously stand and fight, but they who distrust
“ each

“each other will necessarily be every one contriving
“how they shall the soonest get out of the way.
“Let us march then, my friends! to the enemy,
“with our armed chariots against those of the enemy
“unarmed; with our cavalry in like manner, both
“men and horses armed, against those of the enemy
“unarmed, in order to a close engagement. The
“rest of the foot are such as you have engaged
“already. But as for the *Ægyptians*, they are both
“armed and formed in the same manner, both
“equally ill; for they have shields larger than they
“can act or see with, and being formed an hundred
“in depth, it is evident they will hinder one ano-
“ther from fighting, except only a very few. If
“they think by their might in rushing on to make
“us give way, they must first sustain our horse, and
“such weapons as are driven upon them by the force
“of horses; and if any of them make shift to stand
“this, how will they be able to engage our horse,
“our phalanx, and our turrets at the same time?
“For those mounted on the turrets will come up to
“our assistance, and by doing execution upon the
“enemy, will make them, instead of fighting, be
“confounded, and not know what to do.—If you
“think that you are still in want of any thing, tell
“me; for, with the help of the gods, we will be
“in want of nothing.—And if any one have a mind
“to say any thing, let him speak, if not, go your
“ways to sacred affairs; and having made your
“prayers

“ prayers to the gods to whom we have sacrificed,
“ then go to your ranks ; and let every one of you
“ remind those that belong to him, of the things
“ which I have put you in mind of: And let every
“ one make it appear to those whom he commands,
“ that he is worthy of command, by shewing him-
“ self fearless in his manner, his countenance, and
“ his words.”



CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

CYRUS.

BY XENOPHON.

BOOK VII.

THESSE men having made their prayers to the gods, went away to their ranks. And the servants brought meat and drink to *Cyrus*, and to those that were with him, while they were yet taken up in their holy-rites. *Cyrus*, standing as he was, and beginning with the offering to the gods, took his dinner, and distributed around always to the man that most wanted. Then having made his libations and prayed, he drank, and the rest that were with him did the same. After this was done, and he had made supplication to *Jove-Paternal*, to be their leader and support, he mounted his horse, and ordered those about him to do the same. All they that were with *Cyrus*, were armed with the

same arms that he was; in scarlet-habits, brass-corselets, brass-helmets, white crests, swords, and every one with a single spear made of the *cornel-tree*. Their horses were armed with forehead-pieces, breast-plates, and side-pieces, and these served as thigh-pieces to the rider. Thus much only did the arms of *Cyrus* differ from the others, that these were done over with a golden-colour, but those of *Cyrus* cast a brightness like a mirror. When he was mounted, and stood looking which way he was to go, it thundered to the right. He then said, “We
“ will follow thee, *O greatest Jove!*” And he set forward with *Chryfantas*, a commander of horse, and his body of horse upon his right-hand; and *Ara-sambas* with his body of foot, upon his left. He gave orders that all should have their eyes to his ensign, and follow on an even pace. His ensign was a golden eagle held up upon the top of a long lance. And this remains the ensign of the *Persian* king to this day. Before they got sight of the enemy, he made the army halt three times. When they had marched on about twenty stades, they began then to observe the enemies army advancing; and when they were all in view of each other, and the enemies found that they exceeded very much in front on both sides; then making their own phalanx halt (for otherwise there was no fetching a compass to enclose the opposite army) they bent themselves in order to take that compass; that, by having disposed them-
selves

selves into the form of the letter Gamma Γ on each side, they might engage on every side at once.

CYRUS, seeing this, did not slacken his pace for it, but led on just as before. And taking notice at how great a distance on each side they took their compass, and extended their wings around, “Do you observe, (said he,) *Chrystantas*! where they take their compass?” — “Yes, (said *Chrystantas*;) and I wonder at it, for to me they seem to draw off their wings very far from their own phalanx.” — “Yes, by *Jove*! (said *Cyrus*,) and from ours too, and what is the meaning of this? It is plainly, (said he,) because they are afraid, in case their wings get near to us, while their phalanx is yet at a distance, that we shall charge them.” — “Then, (said *Chrystantas*,) how will they be able to be serviceable to one another when they are at such a distance from each other?” — “It is plain, (said *Cyrus*,) that when their wings have gained so much ground as to be over against the sides of our army, then turning themselves and forming in front, they will march upon us on every side, that they may engage on every side at once.” — “And, do not you think then, (said *Chrystantas*,) that they contrive well?” — “Yes, with respect to what they see, but with respect to what they do not see, they contrive worse than if they advanced upon us by their wings. But do you, *Arsarnas*! lead on quietly with your foot, as you observe that I do. And do you, *Chrystantas*! follow on with your horse

“ in

“ in the same even pace. I will march away to the
 “ place where I think it proper to begin the en-
 “ gagement, and as I pass on, I will view how we
 “ stand disposed in every part. After I get to the
 “ place, and when we are marching up against each
 “ other, I will begin the hymn, and do you follow
 “ me. When we are engaged with the enemy you
 “ will perceive it, for I reckon there will be no
 “ small noise and rout. Then will *Abradatas* set
 “ forward to charge the enemy with his chariots;
 “ for so it shall be told him to do. You must follow
 “ up immediately after the chariots, for by this
 “ means we shall fall upon the enemy while they are
 “ the most in disorder. I will be myself at hand, as
 “ soon as I can, to pursue them; if the gods so
 “ please !”

HAVING said this, and transmitted the word, which
 was this, “ JOVE OUR SAVIOUR AND LEADER !”
 he then marched. And taking his way between
 the chariots and corslet-men, and looking upon some
 of the men that were in the ranks, he then said,
 “ My friends ! how pleasing is it to see your coun-
 “ tenances !” Then to others he said, “ Consider,
 “ my friends ! that our present contest is not only
 “ for victory to-day, but to maintain the victory
 “ we gained before, and for all manner of happy
 “ success hereafter ! Then coming up with others,
 he said : “ From henceforward, my friends ! we
 “ shall have no cause to blame the gods ; for they
 “ have put it in our power to acquire many great

“ advan-

“advantages to ourselves. But then, my friends!
“let us be brave!” To others he spoke thus:
“My friends! to what nobler society of friendship
“can we ever invite one another than to the present?
“For it is now in our power, by being brave men,
“to confer upon each other benefits in great num-
“ber.” And to others again thus: “I believe you
“know, my friends! that the prizes now lie before
“you. And to the victors they are these; to pur-
“sue, to deal their blows, to kill, to reap great
“advantage, to gain praise, to be free, and to rule.
“But the reverse of these it is plain will be the lot
“of the cowardly. Whoever therefore has a kind-
“ness for himself, let him fight after my example; for
“I will not willingly admit of any thing mean or
“base in my behaviour.” When he came up with
others that had been in the engagement with him
before, he said: “And to you, my friends! what
“should I say? for you know how those that are
“brave in action pass the day, and how those do it
“that are cowardly.”

WHEN he was got over against *Abradatas*, as
he passed along he stopped. And *Abradatas* deli-
vering the reins to the driver, came to him; and
several others that were posted near, and belonged
both to the foot and to the chariots, ran to him.
And when they were come, he spoke to them in
this manner: “As you desired *Abradatas*! God has
“vouchsafed to grant the principal rank amongst
“all us allies to those that are with you; and when
“it

“ it comes to your part to engage, remember ! that
“ the *Persians* are to see you, and to follow you, and
“ not suffer you to engage alone.” Then *Abradatas* said,
“ Affairs here with us, *Cyrus* ! seem to stand upon a good
“ foot ; but our flanks disturb me. For along our
“ flanks, I observe are extended the enemy’s wings
“ that are very strong, and consist of chariots and all
“ other military strength : But of ours there’s nothing
“ opposed to them but chariots ; so that, (said he,)
“ had not I obtained this post by the lot, I should be a-
“ shamed to be here. So much do I think myself in
“ the safest station.” Then *Cyrus* said, “ If things are
“ upon a good foot with you, be at ease as to them :
“ For, with the help of the gods ! I will shew you
“ our flanks entirely clear of the enemy. And do
“ not you attack the enemy I charge you, before
“ you see those people flying that you are now afraid
“ of.” (Thus presumptuously did he talk of the
approaching engagement, though at other times he
was not presumptuous in his discourse.) “ But
“ when you see these men flying, then count upon
“ it that I am at hand and begin your attack, for you
“ will then deal with the enemy, while they are in
“ the greatest consternation, and your own men in
“ the most heart. But while you have leisure,
“ *Abradatas* ! drive along by your own chariots,
“ and exhort your people to the attack. Give
“ them courage by your countenance, raise them
“ with hopes, and inspire them with emulation
“ to appear the bravest among all that belong to the
“ chariots.

“chariots.—For be assured, that if things fall out
“thus, they will all say for the future, that nothing
“is more profitable than virtue and bravery.”
Abradatas mounting his chariot, drove along, and put
these things in execution.

BUT *Cyrus* moving on again, when he came to the
left, where *Hystaspes* was with half the *Persian*
horse, calling him by his name, said, “*Hystaspes!*
“you now see work for your quickness in the exe-
“cution of business; for if we are before-hand with
“the enemy in charging and doing execution upon
“them, we shall not lose a man.” *Hystaspes*, laugh-
ing at this, said, “We will take care of those that
“are over against us: Do you give some others
“the charge of those that are upon our flanks,
“that they likewise may not be idle.” Then *Cyrus*
said, “I am going to those myself. But remember
“this, *Hystaspes!* which ever of us it is that God
“favours with victory, if the enemy make a stand
“any where, let us always join in with our forces,
“and charge where the fight continues.” Having
said this, he moved on; and when in his passage he
got to the flank, and to the commander of the cha-
riots that were there posted, he said to him, “I am
“come to your assistance. But when you perceive
“us to have made our attack at the extremities, then
“do you endeavour at the same time to make your
“way through the enemy, for you will be much
“safer when you are at large, than while you are en-
“closed within them.” Then passing on, when he
got

got behind the waggon, he ordered *Artagerfas* and *Pharnouchus*, each with his thousand men, one of foot, and the other of horse, there to remain. “ And
 “ when you perceive, (said he,) that I have made my
 “ attack upon those that are posted over against our
 “ right wing, then do you charge those that are over
 “ against you. You will engage them by their
 “ wing and in flank where an army is the weakest;
 “ and with your own men formed into a phalanx;
 “ that you yourselves may be in that form and dispo-
 “ sition which is the strongest. Then the enemy’s
 “ horse, as you see are the hindmost. By all means
 “ therefore, advance the body of camels upon them,
 “ and be assured, that before you come to engage,
 “ you will see the enemy in a ridiculous condition.”
Cyrus having finished these affairs, went on to the
 right wing.

AND *Cræsus* judging that his phalanx that he
 marched with, was now nearer to the enemy than
 his extended wings; gave the signal to the wings, to
 march no farther on, but to turn about in the station
 they were in. And as they all stood facing the army
 of *Cyrus*, he gave them the signal to march to the
 enemy. And thus three phalanxes advanced upon
 the army of *Cyrus*: One in front, and of the other
 two, one upon the right side, and the other upon
 the left: So that a very great terror seized the whole
 army of *Cyrus*. For just like a little brick placed
 within a large one, so was the army of *Cyrus* sur-
 rounded by the enemy, with their horse, their heavy-
 armed.

armed men, their shield-men, archers and chariots on every side, except upon the rear. However, when *Cyrus* gave the signal, they all turned and faced the enemy. And there was a deep silence on every side, in expectation and concern for the event. As soon as *Cyrus* thought it the proper time, he began the hymn; and the whole army sung it with him. After this, they all of them together made a shout to the God of battle.

THEN *Cyrus* broke out, and instantly with his horse taking the enemy in flank, fell in upon them as soon as possible. The foot that were with him in order of battle followed immediately, and they enclosed the enemy on each side; so that they had very much the advantage; for with a phalanx of their own, they charged the enemy upon their wing, so that the enemy presently fled with the utmost speed. As soon as *Artagerfas* perceived that *Cyrus* was engaged, he attacked upon the left, making the camels advance, as *Cyrus* had ordered. And the enemy's horses even at a great distance were not able to stand them; but some of them run madly away, some started from their ranks, and others fell foul on one another, for thus are horses always served by camels. *Artagerfas* with his men formed, charged in good order, the enemy that were in confusion. And the chariots, both to the right and left, fell on at the same time. Many of the enemy that fled from the chariots, were killed by those that pursued the wing; and many of them

them in their flight from these were met by the chariots.

Abradatas then delayed no longer, but crying out with vehemence, "Follow me, my friends!" rushed on, without sparing his horses in any sort, but with the spur fetched a great deal of blood of them. His other charioteers broke out with him. The chariots of the enemy immediately fled before them, some of them taking up their men that mounted them, and some leaving them behind. Then *Abradatas* making his way directly through these, fell in upon the *Ægyptian* phalanx, and they that were placed in order near him, fell on with him. Upon many other occasions it has been made evident, that no phalanx can be of greater strength, than when it is made up of joint combatants that are friends; and it was made evident upon this; for the companions and table acquaintance of *Abradatas* attacked jointly with him, but the other drivers, when they saw the *Ægyptians* in a compact body stand their ground, turned off to the chariots that were flying and pursued them. The *Ægyptians* not being able to make way, because they who were on every side of them stood their ground, they that were with *Abradatas*, therefore, in that part where they fell on, running upon those that stood against them, overturned them by the rapid course of the horses; and those that fell they tore to pieces, both men and arms, horses and wheels; and whatever the scythes caught hold of they cut their way through by force, whether arms or bodies of men.

men. In this inexpressible confusion, the wheels making their way by jolts over heaps of all kinds, *Abradatas* fell, as did likewise the rest that broke in with him; and here were these brave men cut down and killed.

The *Persians* who followed up after them, falling upon those that were in disorder, where *Abradatas* and his men had broke in, did execution upon them; but where the *Ægyptians* were undisturbed, (and of these there were great numbers,) they marched up against the *Persians*. Here began a terrible combat of lances, javelins, and swords; and the *Ægyptians* had the advantage, both by their multitude and by their arms; for their lances were very strong and of great length, (such as they yet use at this day;) and their large shields were a better defence to them than corselets, and the less sort of shield; and being fastened to their shoulders, were of service to them to make the stronger push. Therefore closing their large shields together, they moved and pushed on. The *Persians*, holding their less sort of shields in their hands at arms-length, were not able to sustain them, but retreated gradually, dealing and receiving blows till they came to the engines. When they got thither, the *Ægyptians* were again galled from the turrets; and they that were in the rear of all would not suffer either the archers or javelin-men to fly, but holding their swords at them, forced them to shoot and to throw; and great havock and destruction there was of men, great clashing of arms and weapons of

all kinds, and great noise of people, some calling to each other, some making exhortations, and some calling upon the gods.

Upon this, *Cyrus* pursuing those that were opposite to him, came up; and when he saw the *Persians* forced from their station, he was grieved; and knowing that he could by no other means sooner stop the progress of the enemy forward, than by riding round and getting to their rear, he commanded those that were with him to follow. He rode round and came up with their rear, where his men charging them, fell upon them as their backs were turned, and killed a great many. The *Ægyptians*, as soon as they perceived this, cried out, that the enemy was behind them, and in this distress faced about. Here foot and horse fought promiscuously; and a man falling under *Cyrus's* horse, and being trampled upon, struck his sword into the horse's belly; the horse, thus wounded, tossed and staggered, and threw *Cyrus* off. Upon this occasion one might see of what advantage it was, for a ruler to have the love of those that are under his command; for all immediately cried out, fell on, and fought; they pushed, and were themselves pushed in their turn; they gave blows, and received them; and one of the attendants of *Cyrus* leaping from his horse, mounted *Cyrus* upon him. When *Cyrus* was mounted, he perceived that the *Ægyptians* were now hard-pressed on every side, for *Hystaspes* was come up with the *Persian* horse, and *Chrysantas* in like manner; but he would not now suffer

suffer them to fall in upon the *Ægyptian* phalanx, but to gall them with arrows and javelins at a distance; this he gave them orders to do. Then in riding round, as he came up to the engines, he thought it proper to mount a turret, to view whether any body of the enemy made a stand and fought. When he was got up, he saw the whole plain full of horses, men and chariots, some flying, some pursuing, some victorious, some defeated, the enemy flying, and his own men conquering; but he was no longer able to discover in any part, any that stood but the *Ægyptians*; and these, when they were at a loss what to do, forming themselves into a circle, with their arms turned to the view of their enemy, sat quietly under the shelter of their shields, no longer acted, but suffered in a cruel manner.

Cyrus being struck with admiration of these men, and touched with pity that such brave men should perish, made all those retreat that were engaged against them, and suffered none to continue fighting. He then sent to them a herald to ask “whether they intended to be all destroyed for men
“that had deserted and betrayed them, or whether
“they chose to be saved with the reputation of being brave men.” Their reply was thus: “How
“can we obtain safety and be reputed brave?” Then *Cyrus* again said, “Because we see, that you are the
“only men that stand your ground and dare fight.”
“But then, (said the *Ægyptians*,) what is it that we
“can handsomely do, and obtain safety?” *Cyrus* to

this said, “ If you can obtain it without betraying any
 “ of your allies and friends ; if you deliver up your
 “ arms to us, and become friends to those who choose
 “ to save you, when it is in their power to destroy
 “ you.” Having heard this, they asked this question:
 “ If we become your friends, *Cyrus* ! how will you
 “ think fit to deal with us ?” *Cyrus* replied, “ Both to
 “ do you good offices, and to receive them from you.”
 Then the *Ægyptians* again asked, “ What good
 “ offices ?” And to this *Cyrus* said, “ As long as
 “ the war continues, I will give you larger pay than
 “ you now receive ; when we have peace, to every
 “ one of you that will stay with me, I will give
 “ lands, cities, women and servants.” The *Ægyptians*
 hearing this, “ begged that they might be ex-
 “ empted from engaging in war with him against
 “ *Cræsus*. For he was the only one, they said, that
 “ they forgave.” But consenting to all the rest, they
 on both sides pledged their faith reciprocally. The
Ægyptians that then remained continue still to this day
 faithful to the king. And *Cyrus* gave them the cities,
Larissa and *Cyllene*, that are called the cities of the
Ægyptians, and lie up in the country, in the
 neighbourhood of *Cuma*, near the sea ; and
 their posterity have them at this day in their pos-
 session.

CYRUS having performed all these things, and
 it now growing dark, retreated ; and he encamped at
Thybarra. ——— In this battle, the *Ægyptians* only
 of all the enemies people gained reputation. And of
 those

those that were with *Cyrus*, the *Persian cavalry* were thought to have been the best. So that the same sort of arms that *Cyrus* at that time equipp'd his horse-men with, continue yet in use. The chariots that carried scythes gained likewise great fame. So that this remains yet the chariot for war in use with the prince still reigning on in succession. The camels did no more than fright the horses; they that mounted them did no execution upon the horse-men, nor were they any of them themselves killed by the horse-men, for no horse would come near them. This was then reckoned of use. But no brave man will breed a camel for his own mounting, nor exercise and manage them, as intending to serve in war upon them, so that taking up their old form again, they keep in the baggage train. *Cyrus's* men having taken their suppers and placed their guards as was proper, went to rest.

BUT *Cræsus* immediately fled with his army to *Sardes*. The other nations retreated as far as they could in the night, taking their several ways home. As soon as it was day, *Cyrus* led the army to *Sardes*; and when he got up to the walls of the place, he raised engines, as intending to form an attack upon the walls, and provided ladders. Whilst he was doing these things, the next night he made the *Chaldæans* and *Persians* mount that part of the *Sardian* fortifications that was thought the most inaccessible; and a certain *Persian* led them the way, who had been a slave to one of the garrisons in the citadel, and had learnt

the descent down to the river and the ascent from it. As soon as it was known that the heights above were taken, all the *Lydians* fled from the walls, every one shifting for themselves as they were able. *Cyrus*, as soon as it was day, entered the city, and gave out orders, that no one should stir from rank. *Cræsus* shut up in his palace, called out upon *Cyrus*, but *Cyrus*, leaving a guard upon *Cræsus*, turned off and mounted up to the castle that was taken.

AND when he saw the *Persians* keeping guard there, as became them, and the arms of the *Chaldeans* left alone, (for they themselves were run down to plunder the houses) he presently summoned their commanders and bid them quit the army immediately. “For I cannot bear, said he, to see disorderly men
“ get the advantage of others. And be it known to
“ you! said he, I was providing to manage so, as to
“ make all the *Chaldeans* pronounce those fortunate
“ and happy that engaged with me in the war. But
“ now, said he, do not wonder if somebody superior to
“ you in strength, happen to meet with you as you
“ go off.” The *Chaldeans* hearing this, were in great terror, “ begged him to allay his anger, and
“ said, that they would restore him all the rich effects
“ they had taken.” He told them, “ that he was
“ not in any want of them; but, said he, if you
“ would ease me of my trouble and concern, give
“ up all that you have got, to those that keep guard
“ in the castle. For when the rest of the soldiers find
“ that the orderly are the better for their being so, all
“ will

“ will be well with me.” The *Chaldeans* did as *Cyrus* had commanded them, and they that had been obedient to their orders, got a great many rich effects of all kinds. Then *Cyrus* having encamped his men towards that part of the city that he thought the most convenient, gave them all orders to stand to their arms, and take their dinners ; and having done this, he ordered *Cræsus* to be brought to him.

CROESUS, as soon as he saw *Cyrus*, said,
“ Joy and happiness to you ! my Sovereign Lord !
“ For from hence forward, fortune has ordered you
“ to receive that name, and me to give it you.”
“ The same I wish to you, *Cræsus*, said he, since we
“ are men both of us. But *Cræsus* ! said he, would
“ you give me a little advice.” “ I wish, *Cyrus* !
“ said he, that I were able to find any good for you ;
“ for I believe it might be of advantage to myself.”
“ Hear then, *Cræsus* said he, — observing that the
“ soldiers after having undergone many fatigues,
“ and run many dangers, reckon themselves now in
“ possession of the richest city in *Asia*, next to *Ba-*
“ *bylon* ; I think it fit that they should receive some
“ profit in return. For I make accounts, said he, that
“ unless they receive some fruit of their labours, I
“ shall not have them long obedient to my orders.
“ But I am not willing to give them up the city to
“ plunder. For I believe, that the city would be
“ destroyed by it ; and in a plunder, I know very
“ well, that the worst of our men, would have the
“ advantage of the best.” — *Cræsus* hearing this, said,

“ Allow me, said he, to speak to such of the *Lydians*
 “ as I think fit, and to tell them, that I have pre-
 “ vailed with you, not to plunder nor to suffer our
 “ wives and children to be taken from us ; but
 “ have promised you that in lieu of these, you shall
 “ certainly have from the *Lydians* of their own ac-
 “ cord, whatever there is of worth and value in
 “ *Sardes*. For when they hear this, I know they will
 “ bring out, whatever there is here of value in the
 “ possession either of man or woman. And yet by
 “ that time the year comes about, the city will be
 “ again in like manner full of things of value in
 “ great abundance. But if you plunder it, you will
 “ have all manner of arts, that are called the springs
 “ of riches and of all things valuable, destroyed.
 “ And then you are still at liberty after you have seen
 “ this, to come and consult, whether you shall plun-
 “ der the city or no. Send, said he, in the first place
 “ to my treasures, and let your guards take them
 “ from those that have the keeping them for me.”

CYRUS agreed to act in all things as *Cræsus*
 said. “ But, by all means, said he, tell me, how
 “ things have fallen out, in consequence of the an-
 “ swers you received upon your application to the
 “ *Delphian* oracle ? For you are said to have paid
 “ the utmost devotion to *Apollo*, and to have done
 “ every thing at his persuasion.” “ Indeed, *Cyrus* !
 “ said he, I could wish that things stood thus with
 “ me. But now have I gone on immediately from
 “ the beginning, doing things in direct opposition

“ to

“ to *Apollo*.” “ How so ! said *Cyrus*, pray inform
 “ me ; for you tell me things that are unaccounta-
 “ ble.” “ Because, said he, in the first place, neg-
 “ lecting to consult the God in what I wanted, I made
 “ trial of him whether he was able to tell the truth.
 “ Now not only a God, but even men that are of
 “ worth, when they find themselves distrusted, have
 “ no kindness for those that distrust them. And af-
 “ ter he had found me doing things that were absurd,
 “ and knew that I was at a great distance from *Delphi*,
 “ then I sent to consult concerning my having sons.
 “ He at first made me no answer ; but by my send-
 “ ing him many presents of gold, and many of silver,
 “ and by making multitudes of sacrifices, I had ren-
 “ dered him propitious to me as I thought, and he
 “ then, upon my consulting him what I should do
 “ that I might have sons, answered, “ that I should
 “ have them.” “ And I had them ; for neither in
 “ this, did he deal falsely with me. But when I had
 “ them, they were of no advantage to me, for one of
 “ them continues dumb, and he that was the best of
 “ them perished in the flower of his age. Being af-
 “ flicted with the misfortune of my sons, I sent again,
 “ and enquired of the God, what to do, that I
 “ might pass the remainder of my life in the happiest
 “ manner ?” And he made answer, “ O *CROESUS* !
 “ BY THE KNOWLEDGE OF THY SELF, THOU WILT
 “ PASS THY DAYS IN HAPPINESS !” “ When I heard
 “ this oracle, I was pleased with it, for I thought he
 “ had granted me happiness, by commanding me to
 “ do

“ do the easiest thing that could be. For of the rest
 “ of men, some I thought, it was possible for one
 “ to know, and some not ; but that every man knew
 “ what he was himself. After this, during the whole
 “ time that I continued in peace, and after the death
 “ of my son, I accused my fortune in nothing.
 “ But when I was persuaded by the *Assyrian* to make
 “ war upon you, I fell into all manner of dangers,
 “ but came off safe without getting any harm. Now
 “ neither in this can I lay any thing to the God’s
 “ charge ; for after I knew myself not to be suffici-
 “ ent to make war with you, with the help of the
 “ God ! I came off with safety, both myself, and
 “ those that attended me. But then again, being
 “ as it were dissolved, by the riches I was possessed
 “ of, by those that begged me to be their chief, by
 “ the presents they made me, and by men that in
 “ flattery told me, that if I would take upon me the
 “ command, all men would obey me, and I should
 “ be the greatest of men ; and being puffed up by
 “ discourses of this kind, as all the kings around
 “ chose me their chief in the war, I accepted the
 “ command, as if I were sufficient to be the first of
 “ men, ignorant of myself, in imagining that I was
 “ able to make war with you ! you, who in the first
 “ place are descended from the Gods, are born of a
 “ race of kings ; and have been from a boy exer-
 “ cised to virtue. But of my own ancestors, the first
 “ that reigned, I have heard became a king and a
 “ free-man at the same time. Having been there-
 “ fore

“fore (said he,) thus ignorant, I am justly punished for it. But now, (said he,) *Cyrus!* I know myself!—And can you yet think that the words of *Apollo* are true, that by knowing myself I shall be happy?—Of you I make the enquiry, for this reason, because you seem to me to be the best able to guess at it at this time, for you can make it good.”

THEN *Cyrus* said, “Do you give me your opinion, *Cræsus*, upon this; for taking into consideration your former happiness, I have compassion for you, and now give up into your possession the wife that you have, together with your daughters, (for daughters I hear you have) your friends, servants and table that you used to keep; but combats and wars I cut you off from.”—“By *Jove*, then, (said *Cræsus*,) consult no farther to make me an answer concerning my happiness, for I tell you already, if you do these things for me that you say you will, that then I am already in possession of that course of life that others have by my confession thought the happiest, and I shall continue on in it.”

Then *Cyrus* said, “Who is he that is in possession of that happy course of life?” “My own wife, *Cyrus!* (said he.) For she shared equally with me in all tender good, pleasing and agreeable things, but in the cares about the success of these things in wars and battles, she shared not at all. So that, in my opinion, you provide for me in the manner that I did for the person that of all man-

“ kind

“ kind I loved the most ; so that I think myself in-
 “ debted to *Apollo* in some farther presents of gratitude
 “ and thanks.” — *Cyrus* hearing his discourse, ad-
 mired his good humour ; and he carried him about
 with him wherever he went, either thinking that he
 was of use, or reckoning it the safest way to do so.
 Thus then they went to rest.

THE next day *Cyrus* calling together his friends,
 and the commanders of the army, ordered some of
 them to receive the treasures ; and some to take from
 amongst all the riches that *Cræsus* should deliver up,
 first for the gods, such of them as the mages should
 direct ; then to receive the rest, put it into chests
 and pack it up in the waggons, putting the waggons
 to the lot, and so to convey it wherever they went,
 that when opportunity served, they might every
 one receive their deserved share. These men did so
 accordingly.

AND *Cyrus* calling to some of his servants that
 were there attending him ; “ Tell me, (said he,) have any
 “ of you seen *Abradatas*,” for I admire that he who
 “ was so frequently in our company before, now does
 “ not appear.” One of the servants, therefore, re-
 plied, “ My sovereign ! it is, because he is not living,
 “ but died in the battle, as he broke in with his
 “ chariots upon the *Ægyptians*. All the rest of them,
 “ except his particular companions, they say, turn-
 “ ed off when they saw the *Ægyptians* compact body.
 “ His wife is now said to have taken up his dead
 “ body, to have placed it in the carriage that she
 “ herself

“ herself was conveyed in, and to have brought it
“ hither to some place upon the river *Paftolus*, and
“ her eunuchs and servants, they say, are digging
“ a grave for the deceased upon a certain elevation.
“ They say that his wife, after having set him out
“ with all the ornaments she has, is sitting upon the
“ ground with his head upon her knees.” *Cyrus*
hearing this, gave himself a blow upon the thigh,
mounted his horse presently at a leap, and taking
with him a thousand horse, rode away to this scene
of affliction; but gave orders to *Gadatas* and
Gobrias, to take with them all the rich ornaments
proper for a friend and an excellent man deceased,
and to follow after him. And whoever had herds
of cattle with him, he ordered them to take both
oxen and horses, and sheep in good number, and to
bring them away to the place where by enquiry they
should find him to be, that he might sacrifice there
to *Abradatas*.

As soon as he saw the woman sitting upon the
ground, and the dead body there lying; he shed
tears at the afflicting sight, and said, “ Alas! thou
“ brave and faithful soul! Hast thou left us! and art
“ thou gone !” — At the same time, he took him by
the right hand; and the hand of the deceased came
away, for it had been cut off with a sword by the
Egyptians. He, at the sight of this, became yet
much more concerned than before. The woman
screamed out in a lamentable manner, and taking the
hand from *Cyrus*, kissed it, fitted it to its proper
place

place again, as well as she could, and said, “The
“rest, *Cyrus*, is in the same condition! but what need
“you see it? And I know, that I was not one of the
“least concerned in these sufferings! and perhaps you
“were not less so! For I!—Fool that I was!—fre-
“quently exhorted him to behave in such a manner,
“as to appear a friend to you! worthy of notice!
“and I know, he never thought of what he himself
“should suffer, but of what he should do to please
“you!—He is dead therefore, said she, without re-
“proach!—and I who urged him on, sit here alive!”
Cyrus shedding tears for some time in silence, then
spoke:—“He has died, woman, the noblest death,
“for he has died victorious! Do you adorn him with
“these things that I furnish you with!” (And *Gobrias* and *Gadatas* were then come up, and had
brought rich ornaments in great abundance with
them.) “Then, (said he,) be assured, he shall not
“want respect and honour in all other things! but
“over and above, multitudes shall concur in raising
“him a monument that shall be worthy of us!
“and all the sacrifices shall be made him that are
“proper to be made in honour of a brave man!—
“You, (said he,) shall not be left destitute, but for
“the sake of your modesty, and every other virtue,
“I will pay you all other honours, as well as place
“those about you, who shall convey you wherever
“you please. Do but you make it known to me
“who it is that you desire to be conveyed to.”
“And *Panthea* replied, “Be confident, *Cyrus*, (said
she,

she,) “I will not conceal from you who it is that I
“desire to go to!”

HE having said this, went away with great pity for the woman, that she should have lost such a husband, and for the man, that he should have left such a wife behind him, never to see her more. The woman gave order to her eunuchs to retire, “till such
“time (said she) as I have lamented my husband as
“I please!” Her nurse she bid to stay, and gave her orders, that when she was dead she should wrap her and her husband up in one mantle together. The nurse, after having repeatedly begged her not to do thus, and meeting with no success, but observing her to grow angry, sat herself down, breaking out into tears. She being before-hand provided with a sword, killed herself, and laying her head down upon her husband’s breast, she died. The nurse set up a lamentable cry, and covered them both as *Panthea* had directed.

CYRUS, as soon as he was informed of what the woman had done, being struck with it, went to help her if he could. The eunuchs, being three in number, seeing what had been done, drew their swords and killed themselves, as they stood at the place where she had ordered them. And the monument is now said to have been raised, by continuing the mount on to the eunuchs; and upon a pillar above they say the names of the man and of the woman were written in *Syriack* letters; below, they say, there were three pillars, and that they were inscribed thus,
of

of the eunuchs. Cyrus, when he came to this melancholy scene, was struck with admiration of the woman, and having lamented over her, went away. He took care of them as was proper, that all the funeral rites should be paid them in the noblest manner; and the monument, they say, was raised up to a very great size.

AFTER this, the *Carians* falling into factions, and the parties making war upon each other, and having their habitations in places of strength, both called in *Cyrus*. *Cyrus* remaining at *Sardes*, made engines and battering-rams to demolish the walls of those that should refuse to submit, and sent *Adusius*, a *Persian*, one who was not unable in other respects, nor unskilled in war, and a very agreeable man, into *Caria*, and gave him an army. The *Cilicians* and *Cyprians* very readily engaged with him in that service; for which reason he never sent a *Persian* as governor over the *Cilicians* or *Cyprians*, but contented himself with their national kings, only receiving a tribute from them, and appointing them their quotas for military service whenever he should want them. *Adusius*, at the head of his army, came into *Caria*; and from both parties of the *Carians* there were people that came to him, and were ready to admit him into their places of strength, to the prejudice of their opposite faction.

ADUSIUS behaved to both in this manner: Whichever of the parties he conferred with, he told them that what they said was just; he said, that they must
needs

needs keep it concealed from their antagonists; that he and they were friends; that by this means he might fall upon their antagonists whilst they were the most unprepared. As testimonials of their faith, he required, that the *Carians* should swear, without fraud, to admit him and his people into their places of strength, for the service of *Cyrus* and of the *Persians*, and he would himself make oath to enter their places of strength for the service of those that admitted him. Having done this, then privately and unknown to each other, he appointed them both the same night; and that night he got within their walls and seized the fortifications of both. As soon as day came, he sat himself between them with his army about him, and summoned the proper persons on both sides to attend. These men, when they saw each other, were astonished; and thought themselves both deceived; and *Adufius* spoke to this effect:

“ I swore to you, men of *Caria*, that I would, without fraud, enter your fortifications to the advantage of those that admitted me; therefore, if I destroy either of you, I reckon that I have made this entry to the damage of the *Carians*; but if I procure you peace, and liberty to you both to cultivate your lands with security, I then reckon I am come for your advantage. From this day, therefore, it is your part to join in correspondence with each other in a friendly manner, to cultivate your lands, to give and receive each others children mutually in marriage, and if any one attempt

“to deal unjustly in any of these matters, to all such
“*Cyrus* and we will be enemies.” After this the gates of the fortresses were thrown open, the ways were full of people passing from one to another, the lands were full of labourers, they celebrated festivals in common, and all was full of peace and satisfaction.

MEAN while, there came people from *Cyrus* to enquire whether he wanted either a reinforcement or engines. *Adusius* returned answer, that for the present he might turn his forces another way; and at the same time that he made his answer, he led the army away, leaving garrisons in the castles. The *Carians* prayed him to stay, and upon his refusal they sent to *Cyrus*, begging him to send *Adusius* to them as their governor. *Cyrus*, mean while, had sent *Hystaspes* away with an army to *Phrygia*, on the *Hellespont*. And when *Adusius* arrived, he ordered him to lead his army on the way that *Hystaspes* was gone before, that those people might the more readily submit to *Hystaspes*, when they heard that there was another army advancing. The *Greeks* that inhabited upon the sea-side prevailed, by many presents, not to admit the Barbarians within their walls, but they engaged to pay a tribute, and serve in war where *Cyrus* should command them. The King of *Phrygia* prepared himself, as intending to keep possession of his places of strength, and not to submit, and he sent word accordingly. But when the commanders under him revolted from him, he became destitute,

destitute, and at last fell into the hands of *Hystaspes*, to receive the punishment that *Cyrus* should think fit to inflict upon him. *Hystaspes* then leaving strong *Persian* garrisons in the castles, went away, and together with his own men carried off considerable numbers of the *Phrygians*, both horse and shield-men. *Cyrus* sent orders to *Adusius* to join *Hystaspes*, and to take such of the *Phrygians* as took part with them, and bring them away with their arms; but such as had shown an inclination to make war upon them, to take both their horses and arms from them, and command them all to attend them with slings. These men did accordingly.

Cyrus then set forward from *Sardes*, leaving there a numerous *Persian* garrison, and taking *Cræsus* with him, and a great many waggons loaded with abundance of rich effects of all kinds. And *Cræsus* came to him with an exact account in writing of what was in each waggon, and delivering the writings to *Cyrus*, said, “By these, *Cyrus*, (said he,) you will know who it is that justly delivers the things that he takes with him into his charge, and who it is that does not.” Then *Cyrus* said, “You do extremely well, *Cræsus*, in being thus provident and careful; but they that have the charge of these things for me, are such as deserve to have them, so that if they steal any of them, they steal what belongs to themselves.” At the same time he delivered the writings to his friends and chief officers, that they might know which of those that were intrusted with these things

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things delivered them up to them safe, and which of them did not. Such of the *Lydians* as he saw setting themselves out handsomely in their arms, horses, and chariots, and using all their endeavours to do what they thought would please him, these he took with him in arms; but from those that he saw attended with dissatisfaction, he took their horses, and gave them to the *Persians* that first engaged in the service with him; he burnt their arms, and obliged them to follow with slings; and all those that he disarmed of the several nations that he subjected, he obliged them to practise the sling, reckoning it a servile sort of arm. For there are occasions when slingers, accompanied with other forces, are of very great use, but when a force consists all of slingers, they are not able of themselves to stand against a very few men that march up close upon them, with arms proper for close engagement.

IN his march to *Babylon* he overthrew the *Phrygians* of the *Greater Phrygia*. He overthrew the *Cappadocians*, and he subjected the *Arabians*; and out of all these he armed no less than forty thousand *Persian* horsemen. Abundance of the horses that belonged to prisoners taken he distributed amongst all his allies. He came at last to *Babylon*, bringing with him a mighty multitude of horse, a mighty multitude of archers and javelin-men, but slingers innumerable.

WHEN *Cyrus* got to *Babylon* he posted his whole army round the city, then rode round the city himself,

self, together with his friends, and with such of his allies as he thought proper. When he had taken a view of the walls, he prepared for drawing off the army from before the city; and a certain deserter coming off, told him, that they intended to fall upon him when he drew off the army. “For as they
“took their view from the walls, (said he,) your
“phalanx appeared to them to be but weak.” And no wonder that it really was so; for his men encompassing a great extent of wall, the phalanx was of necessity to be drawn out into but little depth. *Cyrus* having heard this, and standing in the center of his army with those that were about him, gave orders that the heavy armed men from both the extremities folding up the phalanx, should move away along by that part of the army that stood still, till each extremity came up and joined in the center. Upon their doing this, therefore, it gave the greater courage to those that stood, because they were now of double the depth they were of before; and it gave courage in like manner to those that moved away, for they that stood their ground were immediately upon the enemy. When both the extremities marched and joined up to each other, they stood still, being now much the stronger; they that moved off, by means of those that were before them, and they that were in front, by means of those that were now behind them. The phalanx being thus folded up, the best men came of necessity to be ranged first and last, and the worst in the middle; and a disposition of

this kind seemed to be the best adapted, both for fighting and to prevent flight. Then the horse and light-armed men upon the wings came up nearer always to the commander in chief, as the phalanx became less extended, by being thus doubled in depth. When they were thus collected together, they retreated, by falling back till they got perfectly out of weapons-cast from the walls; when they were gotten out of weapons-cast they turned, and moving forward a few steps, they turned again to their shields about and stood facing the walls; and the greater distance they were off, so much the seldomer they faced about; and when they thought themselves safe, they made off in a continued march till they reached their tents.

WHEN they were encamped, *Cyrus* summoned to him the proper persons, and said, “Friends and
“allies! we have taken a view of the city round,
“and I do not find, that I can discover, how it is
“possible for one, by any attack, to make one’s-self
“master of walls that are so strong and so high.
“But the greater the numbers of men in the city
“are, (since they venture not out to fight,) so much
“the sooner, in my opinion, they may be taken by
“famine; therefore, unless you have some other
“method to propose, I say that these men must be
“besieged and taken in that manner.” Then *Chrysantas* said, “Does not this river, that is above
“two stades over, run through the midst of the
“city?” “Yes, by *Jove*! (said *Gobrias*,) and it is
“of

“ of so great a depth, that two men, one standing
 “ upon the other, would not reach above the water,
 “ so that the city is yet stronger by the river than by
 “ its walls.” Then *Cyrus* said, “ *Chryfantas*, let us
 “ lay aside these things that are above our force. It
 “ is our business, as soon as possible, to dig as broad
 “ and as deep a ditch as we can, each part of us
 “ measuring out his proportion, that by this means
 “ we may want the fewer men to keep watch.”

So measuring out the ground around the wall, and from the side of the river, leaving a space sufficient for large turrets, he dug round the wall on every side a very great ditch, and they threw up the earth towards themselves. In the first place he built the turrets upon the river, laying their foundation upon palm-trees that were not less than a hundred feet in length; for there are those of them that grow even to a yet greater length than that, and palm-trees that are pressed bend up under the weight as asses do that are used to the pack-saddle. He placed the turrets upon these for this reason, that it might carry the stronger appearance of his preparing to block up the city, and as if he intended, that if the river made its way into the ditch, it might not carry off the turrets. He raised likewise a great many other turrets upon the rampart of earth, that he might have as many places as were proper for his watches. These people were thus employed. But they that were within the walls laughed at this blockade, as being themselves provided with necessaries for above twenty years.

Cyrus hearing this, divided his army into twelve parts, as if he intended that each part should serve upon the watch one month in the year. And when the *Babylonians* heard this, they laughed yet more than before; thinking with themselves, that they were to be watched by the *Phrygians*, *Lycians*, *Arabians*, and *Cappadocians*, men that were better affected to them than they were to the *Persians*. The ditches were now finished.

AND *Cyrus*, when he heard that they were celebrating a festival in *Babylon*, in which all the *Babylonians* drank, and revelled the whole night; upon that occasion, as soon as it grew dark, took a number of men with him, and opened the ditches into the river. When this was done, the water run off in the night by the ditches, and the passage of the river through the city became passable. When the affair of the river was thus managed, *Cyrus* gave orders to the *Persian* commanders of thousands, both foot and horse, to attend him, each with his thousand drawn up two in front, and the rest of the allies to follow in the rear, ranged as they used to be before. They came accordingly. Then, he making those that attended his person, both foot and horse, to go down into the dry part of the river, ordered them to try whether the channel of the river was passable. And when they brought him word that it was passable, he then called together the commanders both of foot and horse, and spoke to them in this manner:

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“ THE river, my friends ! has yielded us a passage into the city. Let us boldly enter, and not fear any thing within, considering, that these people that we are now to march against, are the same that we defeated while they had their allies attending them, while they were awake, sober, armed, and in order. But now we march to them at a time, that many of them are asleep, many drunk, and all of them in confusion, and when they discover that we are got in, they will then, by means of their consternation, be yet more unfit for service, than they are now. But in case any one apprehend, (what is said to be terrible to those that enter a city,) lest mounting to the tops of their houses, they discharge down upon us on every side: As to this, be still more at ease. For if they mount to the tops of their houses, we have then the God *Vulcan* for our fellow-combatant ; their porches are easily set fire to, their doors are made of the palm-tree, and anointed over with bituminous matter, which will nourish the flame. We have torches in abundance, that will presently take fire : We have plenty of pitch and tow, that will immediately raise a mighty flame ; so that they must of necessity fly from off their houses immediately, or immediately be burnt. Come on, then ! take your arms, and with the help of the gods ! I will lead you on. Do you, (said he,) *Gobrias* and *Gadatas* ! shew us the ways : For you are acquainted with them, and when we are got in, lead us the readiest way

“way to the palace.” — “It may be no wonder,
“perhaps, (said they that were with *Gobrias*,) if the
“doors of the palace are open, for the city seems
“to-night to be in a general revel, but we shall
“meet with a guard at the gates; for there is al-
“ways one set there.” — “We must not then be
“remiss, (said *Cyrus*,) but march, that we take them
“as much unprepared as is possible.”

WHEN this was said, they marched; and of those that they met with, some they fell upon and killed, some fled, and some set up a clamour. They that were with *Gobrias*, joined in the clamour with them, as if they were revellers themselves, and marching on the shortest way that they could, they got round about the palace. Then they that attended *Gadatas* and *Gobrias* in military order, found the doors of the palace shut; and they that were posted opposite to the guards fell in upon them, as they were drinking with a great deal of light around them, and used them immediately in a hostile manner. As soon as the noise and clamour began, they that were within perceiving the disturbance, and the king commanding them to examine what the matter was, run out throwing open the gates. They that were with *Gadatas*, as soon as they saw the gates loose, broke in, pressing forward upon the run-aways, and dealing their blows amongst them, they came up to the king, and found him now in a standing posture, with his sword drawn. They that were with *Gadatas* and *Gobrias*, being many in number, mastered him; they

they likewise that were with him were killed, one holding up something before him, another flying, and another defending himself with any thing that he could meet with. *Cyrus* sent a body of horse up and down through the streets, bidding them kill those that they found abroad, and ordering some who understood the *Syrian* language to proclaim it to those that were in the houses to remain within, and that if any were found abroad they should be killed. These men did accordingly. *Gadatas* and *Godrias* then came up, and having first paid their adoration to the gods for the revenge they had had upon their impious king, they then kissed the hands and feet of *Cyrus*, shedding many tears in the midst of their joy and satisfaction.

WHEN day came, and they that guarded the castles perceived that the city was taken, and the king dead, they gave up the castles. *Cyrus* immediately took possession of the castles, and sent commanders with garrisons into them. He gave up the dead to be buried by their relations, and ordered heralds to make proclamation, that the *Babylonians* should bring out their arms, and made it be declared, that in whatever house any arms should be found, all the people in it should suffer death. They accordingly brought out their arms, and *Cyrus* had them deposited in the castles, that they might be ready in case he should want them upon any future occasion.

WHEN

WHEN these things had been done, then first summoning the mages, he commanded them to choose out for the Gods, the first fruits of certain portions of ground for sacred use, as out of a city taken by the sword. After this, he distributed houses and palaces to those that he reckoned had been sharers with him in all the actions that had been performed. He made the distributions in the manner that had been determined; the best things to the best deserving; and if any one thought himself wronged, he ordered him to come and acquaint him with it. He gave out orders to the *Babylonians*, to cultivate their land, to pay their taxes, and to serve those that they were severally given to. The *Persians*, and such as were his fellow-sharers, and those of his allies that chose to remain with him, he ordered to talk as masters of those they had received.

AFTER this, *Cyrus* desiring now to set himself upon such a foot as he thought becoming a King, that he might appear but seldom, and in an awful manner, with the least envy that was possible, was of opinion to effect it with the consent of his friends; he contrived it therefore in this manner: As soon as it was day, taking a station in some place, where he thought it proper, he admitted any one that had a mind to speak with him, and, after having given him his answer, dismissed him. The people, as soon as they knew he gave admittance, resorted to the place in disorderly and unmanageable multitudes, and by their pressing round about the entrance there was

was a mighty struggle and contention, and the servants that attended, distinguishing as well as they could, let them in. When any of his friends, by pressing their way through the crowd, appeared before him, *Cyrus*, holding out his hand, drew them to him, and spoke to them thus: “Wait here, my friends, till we have dispatched the crowd, and then we will confer at leisure.” His friends waited, and the crowd flocked in more and more, till the evening came on upon them, before he could be at leisure to confer with his friends. So *Cyrus* then spoke: “Now, good people! (said he,) it is time to separate, come again to-morrow morning, for I have a mind to have some discourse with you.” His friends, hearing this, run off and went their way with great satisfaction, having done penance in the want of all kind of necessaries. Thus they went to rest.—The next day *Cyrus* attended at the same place; and a much greater multitude of people, that were desirous to be admitted to him, stood round about, attending much sooner than his friends. *Cyrus*, therefore, forming a large circle of *Persian* lance-men, bid them let none pass but his friends, and the *Persian* commanders, and the commanders of his allies. When these men were met, he spoke to them to this effect:

“FRIENDS and allies! we have nothing that we can lay to the charge of the gods, as not having hitherto effected whatever we have wished for. But if this be the consequence of performing great things,

“ things, that one cannot obtain a little leifure for
“ one’s self, nor enjoy any fatisfaction with one’s
“ friends, I bid farewell to fuch happinefs. You
“ obferved, (faid he,) yefterday, that beginning in
“ the morning to give audience to thofe that came,
“ we did not make an end before the evening. And
“ now you fee that thefe, and many more than thofe
“ that attended yefterday are here about, intending
“ to give us trouble. If one fubmit one’s felf
“ therefore to this, I reckon that but a very little
“ part of me will fall to your fhare, and but a little
“ of you to mine. And in myfelf, I know very well,
“ I fhall have no fhare at all. Befides, (faid he,)
“ there’s another ridiculous thing that I take notice
“ of. I ftand affected to you, as it is natural for
“ me to do. But of thofe that ftand here around, I
“ may know here and there one, or perhaps none at
“ all; and thefe men ftand fo difpofed, as to think,
“ that if they can get the better of you in crowding,
“ they fhall effect what they defire at my hands fooner
“ than you fhall. Yet I fhould think it proper,
“ that if any of them want me, they fhould make
“ their court to you that are my friends, and beg to
“ be introduced. But fomebody then, perhaps,
“ may fay, Why did not I fet myfelf upon this foot
“ from the beginning, and why did I give myfelf up
“ fo in common? Why, becaufe I knew that the
“ affairs of war were of fuch a nature, that the com-
“ mander ought not to be behind-hand either in
“ knowing what was fit to be known, or in execut-
“ ing what the occafion required. And fuch com-
“ manders

“ manders as were seldom to be seen, I thought, let
“ slip many things that were proper to be done; but
“ since war, that requires the utmost labour and di-
“ ligence, is now ceased, my own mind seems to me
“ to require some rest. As I am therefore at a loss
“ what to do, that our own affairs, and those of others
“ that it is our part to take care of, may be esta-
“ blished upon the best foot, let some one or other
“ give us such advice as he thinks the most advan-
“ tageous.” Thus *Cyrus* spoke.

THEN *Artabazus*, he who had said heretofore that
he was his relation, rose up after him and spoke.
“ You have done very well, *Cyrus*, (said he,) in be-
“ ginning this discourse; for while you were yet very
“ young, I set out with a desire to be your friend,
“ but observing that you were not at all in want of
“ me, I neglected coming to you. When you came
“ afterwards to want me as a zealous deliverer of Cy-
“ *axares*’s orders to the *Medes*, I counted upon it,
“ that if I undertook this for you with zeal, I should
“ become your intimate friend, and converse with
“ you as long as I pleased. These things were so
“ effectually done, that I had your commendation.
“ After this, the *Hyrceanians* first became our friends,
“ and this while we were in great distress for assist-
“ ants; so that in the transport we almost carried
“ them about with us in our arms. After this, when
“ the enemy’s camp was taken, I did not think that
“ you were at leisure for me, and I excused you;
“ after this, *Gobrias* became your friend, and I was
“ rejoiced

“ rejoiced at it; then *Gadatas* too, and it became a
“ downright labour to share of you. When the *Sa-*
“ *cians* and *Cadusians* became your allies and friends,
“ it was probably very fit for you to cultivate and
“ serve them, for they had served you. When we
“ came back again to the place from whence we set
“ out, then seeing you taken up with your horse,
“ your chariots, and your engines, I thought, that
“ when you were at leisure from all this, then you
“ would have leisure for me; but when the terrible
“ message came that all mankind were assembling
“ against us, I determined with myself that this was
“ the decisive affair, and if things succeeded well
“ here, I thought myself sure that we should then
“ plentifully enjoy each other’s company and con-
“ verse. Now we have fought the decisive battle
“ and conquered; we have *Sardes* and *Cræsus* in our
“ hands; *Babylon* we have taken; and we have borne
“ down all before us; and yet, by the god *Mithres*!
“ yesterday, had not I made my way with my fist
“ through the multitude, I had not been able to get
“ to you. And when you had taken me by the hand,
“ and bid me stay by you, then there I stood to be
“ gazed at for passing the whole day with you with-
“ out either meat or drink: Now therefore, if any
“ means can be found, that they who have been the
“ most deserving shall have the greatest share of you,
“ it is well; if not, then would I again give out or-
“ ders from you, that all should depart, excepting us
“ that have been your friends from the beginning.”

AT

AT this *Cyrus*, and many others, laughed. Then *Chryfantas*, the *Persian*, rose, and spoke thus: “Here-
“ tofore, probably, *Cyrus*, you kept yourself open to
“ the eyes of all, for the reasons you have yourself
“ exprest, and because we were not the people
“ that you were chiefly to cultivate; for we attended
“ for our own sakes, but your business was by all
“ methods to gain the multitude, that they might,
“ with all possible satisfaction, be ready to undergo
“ labours, and run dangers with us. But since you
“ are not only in circumstances to do this, but are
“ able to acquire others that you may have occasion
“ for, it is now very fit that you have a house your-
“ self; or what enjoyment can you have of your
“ command, if you are the only one that does not
“ share at home? Than which there is no place that
“ to men is more sacred, none more agreeable to
“ them, and none nearer to them in their affections:
“ And then, (said he,) do not you think, that we must
“ be ashamed to see you abroad faring hard, when
“ we ourselves are in houses, and seem to have so
“ much the advantage of you?”—When *Chryfantas*
had said this, many more concurred with him in it.

AFTER this he entered the royal palace, and they
that conveyed the treasures from *Sardes* delivered
them up here. When *Cyrus* entered, he first sacri-
ficed to the goddess *Vesta*, and then to regal *Jove*,
and to whatever other deity the Mages thought pro-
per. Having done this, he now began to regulate
other affairs; and considering what his business was,

and that he was taking upon him the government of great multitudes of men, he prepared to take up his habitation in the greatest city of all that was of note in the world, and this city had as great enmity to him as any city could have to a man.

TAKING these things into his consideration, he thought himself in want of a guard about his person; and well knowing, that men are at no time so much exposed as while they are eating, or drinking, or bathing, or upon their bed, or asleep, he examined with himself what sort of people he might have about him, that might be best trusted upon those occasions; and he was of opinion, that no man could ever be trusted who should love another more than the person who wanted his guard. Those men, therefore, that had sons or wives that were agreeable to them, or youths that they were fond of, he judged to be under a natural necessity of loving them best; and observing that eunuchs were deprived of all these things, he thought that they would have the greatest affection for those that were able to enrich them the most, to redress them in case of any wrong done them, and to bestow honours upon them; and in his bounty to these people he thought that no one could exceed himself. Besides all this, eunuchs being the object of other mens contempt, are, for this reason, in want of a master to countenance and support them; for there is no man that does not think it his due to assume the upper-hand of an eunuch in every thing, unless some superior power controul him

him in it; but nothing hinders an eunuch from having the upper-hand of all in his fidelity to his master. That eunuchs were destitute of all vigour, which is what most people think, this did not appear to him to be so; and he grounded his argument upon the example of other animals; for vicious horses, when they are cut, give over biting indeed, and being vicious, but are not at all the less fit for service in war: And bulls, that are so served, throw off their insolence and untractableness, but they are not deprived of their strength and fitness for labour. Dogs, in like manner, that are cut, give over the trick of leaving their masters, but for watching, and for their use in hunting, they are not at all the worse. And men, in the same manner, become the more gentle by being deprived of this desire; but they are not the less careful of things that are given them in charge, nor are they worse horsemen, nor less able at throwing of the javelin, nor less desirous of honour; and they have made it evident, that both in war and in hunting they still preserve emulation in their minds; and with respect to their fidelity, upon occasion of their masters being destroyed, they have stood the greatest trials; and no men have ever shewn greater instances of fidelity in the misfortunes of their masters than eunuchs have done. But if they may be thought to have lost something of the strength of their bodies, arms, perhaps, make it up, and put the weak and the strong upon the same level in war.

JUDGING things to be thus, he began from his door-keepers, and made all those that officiated about his person to be eunuchs. But then being of opinion, that this was not a sufficient guard against the great multitude of people that were disaffected towards him, he considered whom he should take from amongst all the rest, as the most faithful for his guard around the palace. Observing, therefore, that the *Persians*, while at home, were those that fared the hardest upon the account of their poverty, and lived in the most laborious manner, because their country was rocky and barren, and they themselves forced to work with their own hands; he thought these would be the most pleased with that sort of life that they lived with him. Out of these, therefore, he took ten thousand lance-men, who kept guard both night and day round about the palace, whilst he kept quiet at home. And when he went abroad, they marched with him, ranged in order on every side of him. Then thinking it necessary that there should be a guard sufficient for the whole city, whether he were there present himself, or absent abroad, he established a sufficient garrison in *Babylon*, and appointed the *Babylonians* to supply these men likewise with their pay, intending to distress them as much as he could, that they might be reduced to the lowest condition, and be the most easily managed. This guard, that was then established about his own person, and in *Babylon*, continues upon the same foot at this day.

THEN

THEN taking into his consideration, how his whole dominion might be maintained, and more might be acquired, he was of opinion, that these mercenaries were not so much better than the people subjected, as they were fewer in number. He determined, therefore, that he ought to retain those brave men, who had, with the assistance of the gods, helped him to his conquest; and to take care that they should not grow remiss in the practice of virtue. And that he might not seem to order and direct them, but that, as judging of themselves what was best, they might persevere in virtue and cultivate it; he called together the alike-honoured, and all such as were proper, as well as those whom he thought worthy to share with him, both in his labours and advantages; and when they were met, he spoke to this effect:

“ My friends and allies! we owe the greatest
“ thanks to the gods, for having granted us the
“ things of which we thought ourselves worthy.
“ For we are now possessed of a very large and
“ noble country, and of people, who, by their labour in the culture of it, will maintain us. We
“ have houses, and furniture in them. And let
“ none of you imagine, that by his possession he
“ holds things that are foreign, and not belonging
“ to him. For it is a perpetual law amongst all
“ men, that when a city is taken from an enemy,
“ both the persons, and treasures of the inhabitants
“ belong to the captors. Whatever it is, therefore,

“ that you possess, you do not possess it unjustly ; but
“ whatever you suffer them to keep, it is in benignity,
“ and love to mankind that you do not take it away.
“ As to the time to come, my judgment is this : —
“ If we turn ourselves to a negligent and abandoned
“ course of life, and to the luxury and pleasure of vi-
“ cious men, who think labour to be the greatest mi-
“ fery, and a life of ease to be a pleasure, then, I say
“ we shall presently become of less value in ourselves,
“ and shall presently lose all our advantages. For to
“ have been once brave men, is not sufficient in
“ order to continue brave men, unless one continue
“ careful of one’s self to the end. But as all other
“ arts, when neglected, sink in their worth ; and as
“ in the case of our bodies, when in good condition,
“ if we abandon them to a course of laziness and
“ inactivity, they become again faulty and deficient ;
“ so a discreet temper of mind, temperance, and the
“ command of our passions, and courage, when a
“ man remits the practice of them, from thence-
“ forward turn again into vice. We ought not,
“ therefore, to be remiss, nor throw ourselves im-
“ mediately upon every present pleasure. For I think
“ it a great thing to acquire a dominion, and yet a
“ greater to preserve it when acquired. For to
“ acquire, often befalls a man who contributes no-
“ thing towards it but boldness in the attempt.
“ But to preserve an acquisition, that one has made,
“ this cannot be done, without discretion, nor with-
“ out the command of one’s passions, nor without
“ care.

“ care. And knowing things to be thus, we ought
“ to be much more careful in the practice of
“ virtue now, than before we made these valu-
“ able acquisitions; well knowing, that when a
“ man has most in his possession, he then most
“ abounds in those that envy him, that form de-
“ signs against him, and that are his enemies;
“ especially if he hold the possessions and fer-
“ vice of men as we do against their wills. The
“ gods, we ought to believe, will be with us; for
“ we are not got into an unjust possession of these
“ things, by designs and contrivances of our
“ own to get them; but upon designs that have been
“ formed against us, we have revenged ourselves in
“ the punishment of the contrivers.—The next best
“ thing after this, is what we must take care to
“ provide ourselves with; and that is, to be better
“ than the people that are subjected, and to deserve
“ to rule. In heat, therefore, and in cold, in meat
“ and drink, in labours and in rest, we must of
“ necessity allow our servants a share. But while
“ we share with them in these things, we should
“ endeavour to appear superior to them in all
“ of them. But in the knowledge and practice of
“ military affairs, we are not to allow any share at
“ all, to such as we intend to have as labourers and
“ tributaries to us; but in all exercises of this
“ kind, we must preserve the ascendant; determining
“ within ourselves, that the gods have set these
“ things before men, as the instruments and means

“ of liberty and happiness. And as we have taken
“ arms away from them, so ought we never to be
“ without them ourselves; well knowing, that they
“ who have always their arms the nearest at hand,
“ have what they desire the most at their command.
“ If any one suggests to himself such things as this;
“ as, what advantage is it to us to effect what we
“ desire, if we must still bear hunger and thirst,
“ labour and application? This man ought to
“ learn, that good things give so much the
“ more delight, as one takes the more pains
“ before-hand to attain them. Labour and pains
“ are what give a relish to all good things. With-
“ out being in want of a thing, there is nothing
“ that can be acquired, though never so noble, that
“ can be pleasant. If some divinity have afforded
“ us the things that men the most desire, in or-
“ der to have them appear the pleasantest, every
“ one will make them so to himself. And such a
“ man will have as much the advantage of those that
“ live more necessitous, as he will get the pleasantest
“ food when he is hungry, enjoy the pleasantest
“ drink when he is thirsty, and when he wants rest,
“ can take it in the pleasantest manner. Upon all
“ these accounts, I say, we must charge ourselves
“ with the part of brave and excellent men, that we
“ may enjoy our advantages in the best manner, and
“ with the most pleasure, and that we may never
“ come to experience the greatest hardship in the
“ world. For it is not so hard a matter to gain ad-
“ vantages,

“vantages, as it is afflicting to be deprived of them,
“after one has obtained them. Consider then, what
“pretence we can have to choose to be worse than
“before. Is it because we have obtained dominion?
“But it does not become a prince to be more vicious
“than those that are under his command. But
“perhaps it may be, because we seem to be more
“prosperous and happy than before. Will
“any man say then that vice is to be indulged to
“prosperity? But perhaps, since we have acquired
“slaves, if they are vicious we will punish them;
“and how does it become one that is vicious him-
“self, to punish others for vice and sloth? Consider
“this farther, that we are preparing to maintain
“abundance of men, as guards to our houses and
“persons. And how can it be otherwise than base
“in us, to think it fit to have others as guards of
“our own safety, and not to be guards to ourselves?
“And you ought to be well assured, that there is no
“other guard so secure, as to be one’s self an ex-
“cellent and worthy man. This must keep you
“company. For with one that is destitute of virtue,
“nothing else ought to go well.—What then do I
“say you should do? Where practise virtue?
“Where apply to the exercise of it?—Nothing
“new, my friends, will I tell you. But as the
“alike-honoured among *Persians*, pass their time
“about the courts, so I say it is our part, be-
“ing all alike-honoured here, to practise the same
“things that are practised there. It is your part to
“attend

“ attend here, keeping your eyes upon me, to ob-
“ serve, if I continue careful of the things that
“ I ought to be careful of. I will keep my
“ eyes intent upon you, and such as I see prac-
“ tising things good and excellent, I will reward.
“ The sons that we have we shall here instruct; we
“ shall be ourselves the better, by being desirous to
“ shew ourselves the best examples to them that we
“ can. And the boys will not easily become vicious,
“ not even though they incline to it, when they
“ neither see nor hear any thing that is mean or base,
“ and pass their whole time under excellent institu-
“ tions.”



CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

CYRUS.

BY XENOPHON.

BOOK VIII.

THUS then *Cyrus* spoke; after him, *Chry-*
santas rose and spoke in this manner: “ I
“ have frequently at other times observed,
“ my friends! that a good prince is not at all diffe-
“ rent from a good father. For fathers are careful to
“ provide that their children may never come to fail of
“ what is for their advantage; and *Cyrus* seems now to
“ me, to advise us to such things as will make us pass our
“ days in the most fortunate and happy manner. But
“ what I think he has been defective in laying open,
“ this I will endeavour to explain to those that are
“ not apprized of it. For have you considered
“ what city belonging to an enemy can possibly be
“ taken

“ taken by men that are not obedient to command?
 “ And what city that belongs to those that are friends
 “ can be preserved by men that are not obedient?
 “ And what army, consisting of men disobedient and
 “ refractory, can be victorious? How can men sooner
 “ be defeated in battle, than when every one begins
 “ separately to consult their own particular safety?
 “ Or what other valuable thing can be performed
 “ by such as do not submit to the direction of their
 “ betters? What cities are they that are justly and
 “ wisely regulated? What are those families that
 “ preserve themselves in safety? And how come
 “ ships to arrive whither they are bound? By what
 “ other means have we obtained the advantages we
 “ have, more than by obedience to our commander?
 “ By this we have been presently ready at our proper
 “ posts; and by following our commander in compact
 “ order, we have been irresistible; and of things that
 “ have been given us in charge, we have left none
 “ executed by halves: Therefore, if obedience to
 “ command be of the greatest advantage, with re-
 “ spect to the making acquisitions, be you assured,
 “ that it is in the same manner of the greatest ad-
 “ vantage with respect to the preserving what is fit
 “ for us to preserve. Heretofore we were subject to
 “ the commands of many, and commanded none
 “ ourselves; but now you are all upon a foot of
 “ bearing rule, some over more, and some over less.
 “ Therefore, as you desire to rule those that are un-
 “ der you, so let us all submit to those that it be-

“ comes

“ comes us to submit to. We ought to distinguish
“ ourselves so far from slaves, as that slaves do ser-
“ vice to their masters against their wills ; and if we
“ desire to be free, we ought willingly to perform
“ what appears to be most excellent and worthy.
“ You will find, (said he,) that where a people are
“ under a government that is not monarchical, and
“ are most ready to pay obedience to their rulers,
“ they are always least liable to the necessity of sub-
“ mitting to their enemies. Let us therefore at-
“ tend about the palace as *Cyrus* orders ; let us prac-
“ tise those things that will best enable us to hold
“ what we ought ; and let us yield ourselves to *Cyrus*
“ to make use of us in what is proper. For you
“ ought to be well assured, that it is not possible for
“ *Cyrus* to find any thing that he can make an ad-
“ vantage of to himself, and that is not so to us,
“ since the same things are alike serviceable to us
“ both, and we have both the same enemies.”

WHEN *Chrysantas* had said this, many more, both *Persians* and allies, rose up, and spoke to the same effect ; and it was determined, that the men of note and quality should always attend at *Cyrus*’s doors, and yield themselves to his service in whatever he thought fit, till he himself dismissed them. And according as it was then determined, so those in *Asia*, that are under the king, do yet at this day ; and they attend at the doors of their princes. And as in this discourse it is shewn how *Cyrus* established things in order to secure the dominion to himself
and

and to the *Persians*, so do the kings his successors continue to put the same things in practice as laws to this day. But it is in this, as in other things; when there is a better director, the established rules are executed more strictly, and when there is a worse, more negligently. The men of note, therefore, frequented the gates of *Cyrus*, with their horses and lances; this being the joint determination of all the best of those that concurred with him in the overthrow of this empire.

CYRUS then constituted different officers to take care of different affairs. He had his receivers of the revenues, his pay-masters, overseers of his works, keepers of his treasures, and officers to provide things that were proper for his table: He appointed, as masters of his horse and of his dogs, such as he thought would provide him with the best of these kinds of creatures for his use; but as to those whom he thought fit to have as joint guardians of his power and grandeur, he himself took care to have them the best; he did not give this in charge to others, but thought it his own business. He knew, that in case he was at any time obliged to come to a battle, they that were to stand by him on each side, and to support him in the rear, were to be taken from amongst these; with these he was to engage in the greatest dangers; out of these he knew he was to constitute the commanders of his several bodies of foot and horse, and if he was in want of generals to serve any where in his own absence, out of these he knew they were

were to be sent. Some of these he knew he was to use as guardians and satraps of cities and whole nations, and some of them were to be sent out as ambassadors; and this he thought a thing of the greatest consequence, with respect to the obtaining what he desired without a war. If they, therefore, that were to be intrusted with the management of most affairs, and of affairs of the greatest consequence, were not such as they should be, he thought matters would go very ill with him; but if they were such as they should be, he reckoned that affairs would go very well.

THIS being his judgment, he therefore took this care upon him, and he reckoned that he himself was to engage in the same exercise of virtue; for he thought it not possible for one, who was not himself such as he should be, to incite others to great and noble actions. Upon these considerations he thought leisure, in the first place, necessary, if he intended to have it in his power to take care of the principal affairs. He reckoned it therefore impossible for him to be negligent of his revenues; foreseeing, that upon a great dominion he must of necessity be at a great expence; but then, on the other side, his possessions being very great, to be himself always taken up about them, he thought would leave him no leisure to take care of the safety of the whole.

So taking into his consideration how his œconomy might be settled upon a good foot, and he, at the same time, might have leisure, he observed the order
of

of an army. For as the commanders of tens take care of their feveral decads, the captains of the commanders of tens, the commanders of thousands of the captains, the commanders of ten thousand of the commanders of thousands; by which means no one is left without care, though an army confifts of many times ten thousand men; and when a general has any fervice for the army to do, it is enough for him to give his orders to the commanders of ten thousand. In like manner as thefe affairs were regulated, *Cyrus* accordingly ranged the affairs of his houfhould under certain heads: And thus *Cyrus*, by difcourfing with a few people, was enabled to have the affairs of his œconomy taken care of; and after this, he had yet more leifure than another man, who had but a fingle houfe or fingle fhip in charge. Having thus fettled his own affairs, he taught others to ufe the fame method; and fo procured leifure both for himfelf and for thofe about him.

HE then began to take upon him the bufinefs of making his companions in power fuch as they fhould be; and, in the firft place, as many as were able to fubfift by the labour of others, and were not attending at his doors, thefe he enquired into; reckoning, that they who did attend would not be guilty of any bafe and vile action, both by reason of their being near their prince, and that in whatever they did they would be obferved by the moft excellent men. They that did not attend, he reckoned abfented themfelves either out of their indulgence of fome vicious paffion.

or upon the account of some unjust practice, or out of negligence. Being first, therefore, convinced of this in his judgment; he brought all such men under a necessity of attending; for he ordered some one of those about him, that were his chief friends, to seize what belonged to the person that did not attend, and to declare that it belonged to himself. When this was done, they that were dispossessed immediately came and complained, as persons that had been wronged. *Cyrus*, of a great while, was not at leisure to give such men a hearing; and when he had heard them, he deferred the decision of the matter a long while. By acting thus, he thought he accustomed them to make their court, and with less ill-will to him, than if he himself had forced them to attend, by inflicting punishments upon them. This was one method of instruction that he used, in order to make men attend upon him. Another was, to command those that attended upon such services as were most easy to execute, and most profitable. Another was, never to allow the absent a share in any advantage. But the chief method of all that he used to necessitate men to attend, was this, that in case a man did not yield obedience to these other methods, he then took what he had from him, and gave it to another man, that he thought would be able to attend upon the proper occasions; and thus he gained a useful friend instead of a useless one. And the present king still makes enquiry whether any one of those be absent, whose part it is to attend.

IN this manner did he carry himself to those that did not attend upon him; but those that afforded him their attendance and service, he thought he should best excite to great and noble actions, if he, being their prince, should endeavour to shew himself, to those whom he governed, the most accomplished of all in virtue. For he thought he observed, that men were the better for written laws, but a good prince, he reckoned, was to men a seeing-law; because he was able both to give directions, to see the man that acted irregularly, and to punish him.

THIS being his judgment, he shewed himself, in the first place, the more industrious to discharge himself in all dues to the gods, at that time when he was in the most fortunate circumstances. And then were first appointed certain mages to sing a hymn to the gods always as soon as it was day, and every day to sacrifice to such deities as the mages should direct; and the establishments that were thus made at that time continue in use with the king that still succeeds in the government on to this day. The rest of the *Persians*, therefore, were the first that followed his example in these things, reckoning, that they should be the more fortunate if they served the gods as he did, who was the most fortunate of all, and their prince; and they thought, by doing thus, they should please *Cyrus*. But *Cyrus* accounted the piety of those about him an advantage to himself, reckoning as they do who chuse to undertake a voyage in company

pany with men of piety, rather than with such as appear to have been guilty of any thing impious. And besides this, he reckoned, that if all his associates were religious, they would be the less apt to be guilty of any thing impious towards each other, or towards him who thought himself their benefactor: Then, by shewing himself to be under great concern and fear of doing injury to any friend or ally, and keeping steadily to the rule of justice, he thought that others would abstain the more from base gains, and would take care that their revenue should arise to them by just methods. And he was of opinion, that he should the better inspire other men with respect and awe, if he himself appeared to pay so great a respect to all, as never to say nor do any thing shameful and vile. And that it would fall out thus, he grounded his argument upon this; that not only in the case of a prince, but even of such as men had no fear of, they paid more respect to those that behaved respectfully, than they did to the impudent; and such women as they observed to be modest and respectful, they were the more ready to pay respect to. And he thought that a temper of obedience would be the more firmly established in those about him, if he appeared to bestow greater rewards upon the obedient, than upon those that seemed possessed of the greatest and most elaborate virtues. In this opinion, and in this practice, he always continued. And then, by shewing his own goodness and modesty of temper, he made all others the more ready to

practise it; for when men see one that has it most in his power to behave with haughtiness and insolence, behave with this modesty and goodness of temper, then, even those of the lowest degree, are the more willing to be seen acting without any manner of insolence. He distinguished that respect and awe from this goodness of temper in this manner: That they who were possessed with this awe, avoided things that were shameful and vile, while they were exposed to the eyes of others; but that the modest and good-tempered did it even in the dark. He thought likewise to make men practise a command of their passions best, by shewing that he himself was not drawn away, by present pleasures, from the pursuit of good and excellent things; and that he preferred toil and labour, in the pursuit of a noble end, before all delights. Being therefore such a man himself, he established an excellent order at his doors; the meaner sort submitting to the better, and all behaving with great awe and decency one towards another. You should not see any one there in anger, breaking out into noise and clamour, nor expressing an insulting pleasure in insolent laughter; but to see them, you would think that they really lived in the most comely and noble manner. In the practice of such things as these, and with such things always before their eyes, they passed their days at the doors of *Cyrus*.

BUT then, in order to inure them to the practice of military affairs, he led out all those to hunt that he thought proper to exercise in that manner; reck-
oning

oning this the best method of practising all such things as relate to war, as well as the truest exercise of the art of riding; for this helps them, the most of any thing, to sit firm on horseback, in all sorts of ground, by means of their pursuing the wild beasts in their flight; and this, the most of any thing, makes them capable of acting on horseback, by means of their love of praise, and desire of taking their game; and by this he chiefly accustomed his associates to gain a command over their passions, and to be able to bear toil, to bear cold and heat, hunger and thirst. And the king that now reigns, together with those that are about him, continue still the same practice.

It is evident, therefore, by what has been before said, that he thought dominion became no one that was not himself better than those whom he governed: And that by thus exercising these about him, he inured himself the most of all to a command of his passions, and to all military arts and exercises; for he led out others abroad to hunt, when there was no necessity that obliged him to stay at home; and when there was any such necessity, he then hunted the beasts that were maintained in his parks. He never took his supper before he gave himself a sweat, nor did he ever throw food to his horses before they were exercised. And he invited his eunuchs abroad with him to this hunting. He himself, therefore, greatly excelled in all noble performances, and they that were about him likewise did so, by means of their continual exercise. In this manner he made himself

an example to others. And besides this, whosoever he saw the most zealous in the pursuit of generous actions, such he rewarded with presents, with commands, with placing them in the principal seats, and with all other honours; so that he raised a mighty emulation amongst all, to try by what means every one might appear to *Cyrus* the most deserving.

AND, I think, I have likewise heard concerning *Cyrus*, that he was opinion, that princes ought to excel those that are under their dominion, not only in being better than they, but that they ought likewise to play the impostors with them. He chose, therefore, to wear the *Median* robe, and persuaded his associates to put it on; for in case a man had any thing defective in his person, he thought that this concealed it, and made those that wore it appear the handsomest and the tallest. And they have a sort of shoe, where they may fit in something under their feet, without its being seen, so as to make themselves appear taller than they really are. He allowed them also to colour their eyes, that they might seem to have finer eyes than they really had; and to paint themselves, that they might appear to be of better complexions than they naturally were of. He took care likewise to use them not to be seen to spit, or blow the nose, or turn aside to gaze at any spectacle, as if they were men that admired nothing. And all these things he thought contributed something to their appearing the more awful to the people that were subject to his dominion.

THOSE that he thought the proper persons to share by his own means in the dominion with him, he disciplined in this manner; and by acting himself, at the head of them, in the same venerable and majestick way. But those that he managed for servitude, he never encouraged to the practice of ingenious labours, nor allowed them the possession of arms, but took care that they should never go without their meat and drink for the sake of these liberal exercises; for when with their horse they drove out the wild beasts into the plains, he allowed meat and drink to be carried for the use of these people during the hunt, but not for any of the ingenious. And when he was upon a march, he led them to water as he did the beasts of burthen, and when the time for dinner came, he waited till they had eat something that they might not be distressed with hunger. So that these people, as the better sort likewise did, called him their father, for taking care that beyond all doubt they should always continue slaves.

THUS he provided for the security of the whole *Persian* dominion. But he was very confident, that he himself was in no danger of meeting with any mischief from the people that were conquered, for he reckoned them weak and dispirited, and he observed them destitute of all order, and besides, none of them ever came near him by night or day. But such as he reckoned the better sort, that he saw armed, and in compact order; some of them, commanders of horse, and some of foot, and many of

them that he perceived with spirits equal to rule, that were next to his own guards, and many of whom were frequently in company with himself, (for there was a necessity that it should be so, because he was to make use of them,) from these there was the most danger of his receiving mischief many ways. Therefore, taking into his consideration how matters might be made safe for him in this respect; to take away their arms from them, and to render them unfit for war, he did not approve; both accounting it unjust, and believing it to be a dissolution of his empire. And then again not to admit them to his presence, and openly to distrust them, he reckoned the beginning and foundation of a war. Instead of all these things, there was one that he determined to be the best for his security, and the handsomest of all; which was, to try if possibly he could make the better sort of men more friends to himself than to one another.

By what means therefore it was that, in my opinion, he came to be beloved, I will endeavour to relate. For first he constantly at all times displayed, as much as he could, his own good-nature and love to mankind; reckoning, that it is no easy matter for men to love those who seem to hate them, or to bear good-will to those that have ill intentions towards them; so it was not possible for those that were known to love and bear good-will, to be hated by such as thought themselves beloved. Therefore, whilst he had it not so much in his power to bestow

rich benefits upon them, he endeavoured to captivate their affections, by preventing his companions in care and in pains, by appearing pleased with their advantages, and afflicted at their misfortunes : but when he had wherewithal to be bountiful to them, he seems to me to have known in the first place, that there is no benefaction amongst men, that is of equal expence, and is so grateful, as the sharing meat and drink with them.

AND being of this opinion, he first regulated his table so, as to have placed before him as many of the same things that he eat of himself, as were sufficient for great numbers of people. And all that was set before him, except what was used by himself and his guests, he distributed to such of his friends as he intended to shew that he remembered, or had a kindness for. He sent likewise about to such as he happened to be pleased with ; whether they were employed upon the guard any where, or attended to pay their court to him, or were concerned in any other affairs. And this he did in order to signify, that they who were desirous to do what was pleasing to him, were not to be concealed from him. He paid the same honour from his table to his own domesticks, when he had a mind to give any of them his commendation. And all the meat that belonged to his domesticks, he placed upon his own table ; thinking, that as in the case of children, so this would gain him some good-will from them. And if he had a mind that any of his friends should have

have great numbers of people attend and pay their court to them, he sent them presents from his table. For even yet at this day, all people make the greater court to such as they observe to have things sent them from off the king's table; because they reckon them men in great honour and esteem, and that in case they want any thing to be done, they are able to effect it for them. And besides, it is not only upon these accounts, that have been mentioned, that the things sent from the king are pleasing, but things that come from the king's table do really very much excel in point of pleasure. And that it should be so, is not at all to be wondered at.—For as other arts are wrought up in great cities to a greater degree of perfection, in the same manner are the meats that come from the king dressed in greater perfection. For in little cities the same people make both the frame of a couch, a door, a plough, and a table; and frequently the same person is a builder too, and very well satisfied he is, if he meet with customers enough to maintain him. It is impossible, therefore, for a man that makes a great many different things, to do them all well. But in great cities, because there are multitudes that want every particular thing, one art alone is sufficient for the maintenance of every one. And frequently not an entire one neither, but one man makes shoes for men, another for women. Sometimes it happens, that one gets a maintenance by sewing shoes together, another by cutting them out; one by cutting cloths only,

only, and another, without doing any of these things, is maintained by fitting together the pieces so cut out. He, therefore, that deals in a business that lies within a little compass, must of necessity do it the best. The case is the same with respect to the business of a table, for he that has the same man to cover and adorn the frame of a couch, to set out the table, to knead the dough, to dress the several different meats, must necessarily, in my opinion, fare in each particular as it happens. But where it is business enough for one man to boil meat, for another to roast it; for one to boil fish, and for another to broil it; where it is business enough for one man to make bread, and that not of every sort neither, but that it is enough for him to furnish one sort good, each man, in my opinion, must, of necessity, work up the things that are thus made to a very great perfection.—He, therefore, by this kind of management, greatly exceeded all other people in this sort of courtship, by presents of meat.

AND how he came likewise to be greatly superior in all other ways of gaining upon men, I will now relate. For he that so much exceeded other men in the multitude of his revenues, exceeded them yet more in the multitude of his presents. *Cyrus*, therefore, began it; and this custom of making abundance of presents, continues to this day practised by the kings his successors. Who is there that is known to have richer friends than the *Persian* king has? Who is known to set out the people about him in finer habits

habits than this king does? Whose presents are known to be such as some of those which this king makes? as bracelets and collars, and horses with bridles of gold. For it is not allowed there that any one should have these things but he that the king gives them to. What other man is there that can be said to make himself be preferred before brothers, fathers, or children, by his great presents? What other man has power to chastise his enemies that are many months journey distance from him, as the *Persian* king has? What other man, but *Cyrus*, after having overturned an empire, ever died, and had the title of FATHER given him by the people he subjected? For it is plain that this is the name of one that bestows, rather than of one that takes away.

WE have been likewise informed, that he gained those men, that are called the eyes and the ears of the king, by no other means than by making them presents, and by bestowing honours and rewards upon them. For by being very bountiful to those that gave him an account of what was proper for him to be informed of, he set abundance of people upon the search, both with ears and eyes, to find what information they should give the king that might be useful to him. Upon this the eyes of the king were reckoned to be very numerous, and his ears so too. But if any one think proper for a king to choose but one person as his eye, he judges not right. For one man would see but few things, and one man would hear but few things; and if this were given
in

in charge to one only, it would be as if the rest were ordered to neglect it. Besides, whoever was known to be this eye, people would know that they were to be upon their guard against him. This then is not the course that is taken. But the king hears every one that says he has heard or seen any thing worthy his attending to. By this means, the ears and eyes of the king are reckoned to be in great number. And people are every where afraid of saying any thing to the king's prejudice, as if he himself heard them; and of doing any thing to his prejudice, as if he himself were present. So that no one durst mention any thing scandalous concerning *Cyrus* to any body; but every one stood so disposed, as if they were always amidst the eyes and ears of the king, whatever company they were in.

I know not what cause any one can better assign for such a disposition in men towards him, than that he thought fit to bestow great benefits in return of little ones. And it is not to be wondered at, that he, who was the richest of all, exceeded others in the greatness of his presents; but that one possessed of the royal dignity, should exceed others in the culture and care of his friends, this is a thing more worthy of notice! He is said never to have appeared so much ashamed of being outdone in any thing, as in the culture of his friends. And a saying of his is recorded; expressing, "That the business of a good herds-man, and of a good king, were very near alike; for a herds-man, (he said,) ought to provide for the welfare and happiness of the
"herd,

“herd, and make use of them consistently with the
 “happiness of those creatures; and that a king
 “ought, in the same manner, to make men and cities
 “happy, and in the same manner to make use of
 “them.” It is no wonder, therefore, if this were
 his sentiment, that he had an ambition to out-do all
 in the culture of men.

AND *Cyrus* is said to have given this noble instance
 to *Cræsus*; on a certain time, when *Cræsus* suggested
 to him, that, by the multitude of presents that he
 made, he would be a beggar, when it was in his
 power to lay up at home mighty treasures of gold,
 for the use of one; it is said that *Cyrus* then asked
 him thus: “What sums do you think I should
 “now have in possession, if I had been hoarding up
 “gold as you bid me, ever since I have been in
 “power?” And that *Cræsus*, in reply, named some
 mighty sum; and that *Cyrus* to this said: “Well,
 “*Cræsus*! do you send with *Hystaspes* here, some
 “person that you have most confidence in; and do
 “you, *Hystaspes*! (said he,) go about to my friends,
 “tell them that I am in want of money for a certain
 “affair, (and in reality I am in want of it,) and bid
 “them furnish me with as much as they are each of
 “them able to do; and that writing it down and
 “signing it, they deliver the letter to *Cræsus*’s officer
 “to bring me.” Then writing down what he had
 said, and signing it, he gave it to *Hystaspes* to carry it
 to his friends, but added in the letter to them all,
 “that they should receive *Hystaspes* as his friend.”

After

After they had gone round, and that *Cræsus's* officer brought the letters, *Hystaspes* said, “O *Cyrus!* my king! you must now make use of me as a rich man, for here do I attend you, abounding in presents that have been made me upon the account of your letter.” *Cyrus*, upon this, said, “This, then, is one treasure to me, *Cræsus!* but look over the others, and reckon up what riches there are ready for me, in case I want for my own use.” *Cræsus*, upon calculation, is said to have found many times the sum, that he told *Cyrus* he might now have had in his treasury, if he hoarded. When it appeared to be thus, *Cyrus* is reported to have said :

“You see, *Cræsus*, that I have my treasures too; but you bid me hoard them up, to be envied and hated for them : you bid me place hired guards upon them, and in those to put my trust. But I make my friends rich, and reckon them to be treasures to me, and guards both to myself, and to all things of value that belong to us, and such as are more to be trusted than if I set up a guard of hirelings. Besides, there is another thing that I will tell you : what the gods have wrought into the souls of men, and by it have made them all equally indigent, this, *Cræsus!* I am not able to get the better of. For I am, as others are, insatiably greedy of riches. But I reckon I differ from most others in this : that when they have acquired more than is sufficient for them, some of those treasures
“ they

“ they bury under ground, and some they let decay
“ and spoil, and others they give themselves a great
“ deal of trouble about, in telling, in measuring,
“ in weighing, airing and watching them; and
“ though they have all these things at home, they
“ neither eat more than they are able to bear, for
“ they would burst; nor do they put on more cloaths
“ than they can bear, for they would suffocate; but
“ all their superfluous treasures they have only for
“ business and trouble. Whereas I serve the gods,
“ and am ever desirous of more; and when I have
“ acquired it out of what I find to be more than
“ suffices me, I satisfy the wants of my friends;
“ and by enriching men with it, and by doing them
“ kindneses, I gain their good-will and their
“ friendship, and obtain security and glory, things
“ that do not corrupt and spoil, and do not distress
“ one by over-abounding. But glory, the more
“ there is of it, the greater and more noble it is, and
“ the lighter to bear; and those that bear it, it often
“ makes the lighter and easier. And that you may
“ be sensible of this, *Cræsus!* (said he,) they that
“ possess the most, and have most in their custody, I
“ do not reckon the happiest men; for then would
“ guards upon the walls be the happiest of all men,
“ for they have the custody of all that there is in
“ whole cities; but the person that can acquire the
“ most with justice, and use the most with honour,
“ him do I reckon the happiest man; and this I
“ reckon to be riches.”

AND as he expressed these things, so he apparently practised them. But besides all this, having observed that most men, if they enjoy health, take care to provide themselves with all things fitting, and lay up all things that are of use with respect to a healthy course of life; but how to be supplied with things that are of service in case they are sick, of this he observed they were not very careful. He therefore thought proper to be at pains to provide himself with these things. He got together the best physicians about him, by his being willing to be at the expence of it; and whatever instruments, medicines, meats, or drinks, any one told him to be of use, there was nothing of all these that he did not provide himself with, and treasure up. And when any of those, whom it was proper for him to take care of, fell ill, he went himself to see them, and furnished them with whatever they wanted; and was thankful to the physicians whenever they cured any one, and took the things which they used from out of what he had in store. These, and many such things, did he contrive, in order to gain the principal place in the affections of those by whom he desired to be beloved.

THEN all those affairs, wherein he appointed games, established prizes, with intention to raise an emulation in men to perform great and noble things; those gained *Cyrus* the applause of taking care that virtue should be kept in practice; but these very games created strife and emulation amongst

the better sort of men. And besides, *Cyrus* established as a law, that whatever required a determination, whether it were a matter of right, or a dispute relating to the games, the parties requiring such determination, should have joint recourse to certain judges. It is plain, therefore, that both the parties at variance aimed at pitching upon such judges as were the best, and the most their friends: and he that lost his cause, envied him that carried it, and hated those that did not give the cause for himself: he that carried his cause, attributed the success to the justice of it, so reckoned he owed nobody thanks. They that aimed at being chief in the friendship and esteem of *Cyrus*, like others in certain cities, bore envy to each other; so that most of them rather wished each other out of the way, than ever acted in concert together, for their mutual advantage. These things make it evident by what means he made all the considerable men more affectionate to himself, than they were to one another.

BUT now we will relate how *Cyrus*, for the first time, marched in procession out of the palace. For the majesty of this procession seems to me to have been one of those arts, that made his government not liable to contempt. First, therefore, before he made this procession, he called in to him all those, both *Persians* and others, that were possessed of commands, and distributed to them *Median* robes. (And it was then that the *Persians* first put on the *Median* robe.) Having distributed these, he told them,

them, that he intended to march in procession to those portions of ground that had been chosen and set apart for the gods, and to make a sacrifice accompanied with them. “Attend, therefore, (said he,) “at the gates, before the rising of the “sun, adorned with these robes, and form yourselves as *Pheraulas*, the *Persian*, shall give you “orders from me. And when I lead the way, do “you follow on in the station assigned you. But “if any of you think that our procession will be “handsomer in any other manner, than as we “march at this time, when we return again let “him inform me; for every thing ought to be so “disposed, as shall appear to you to be most beautiful and noble.” When he had distributed the finest robes to the greatest men, he then produced other robes of the *Median* sort. For he had provided them in great numbers, and was not sparing either in the purple habits, or those of a dark colour, or in the scarlet, or the murrey. And having distributed a certain portion of these to each of the commanders, he bid them adorn and set out their friends with them, “as I, (said he,) adorn you.” And one of those that were present then, asked him, “but when “will you, *Cyrus*, (said he,) be adorned yourself?” To this he replied. “And do you not think, (said he,) “that I am already adorned, in adorning “all you? No matter, (said he,) if I am but able to “serve my friends, whatever robe I wear I shall ap-

“pear fine in it.” So these men going their ways, and sending for their friends, adorned them with these robes.

CYRUS taking *Pheraulas*, one of the inferior degree of people, to be a man of good understanding, a lover of what was beautiful and orderly, and careful to please him, the same that heretofore spoke for every one’s being rewarded according to his desert; and calling this man to him, he advised with him how he might make this procession in a manner that might appear the most beautiful to his friends, and most terrible to those that were disaffected. And when, upon joint consideration, they both agreed in the same things, he ordered *Pheraulas* to take care that the procession should be made the next morning in the manner that they had thought proper.

“I have ordered (said he) all to obey you in the disposition and order of this procession. And that they may attend to your orders with the more satisfaction, take these coats, (said he,) and carry them to the commanders of the guards; give these habits for horsemen to the commanders of the horse, and these other coats to the commanders of the chariots.” Upon this he took them, and carried them off. When the commanding-officers saw him, they said to him, “You are a great man, *Pheraulas*! now that you are to order us what we are to do!”

“No, not only so, by *Jove*! (said *Pheraulas*,) but it seems I am to be a baggage-bearer too; therefore I now bring you these two habits, one of them is

“for

“for yourself, the other for somebody else, but do
“you take which of them you please.” He that re-
ceived the habit, upon this forgot his envy, and pre-
sently advised with him which he should take; then
giving his opinion which was the best, he said, “If
“ever you charge me with having given you the
“choice when I officiate, another time you shall
“have me officiate for you in a different manner.”

Pheraulas having made this distribution thus as he
was ordered, immediately applied himself to the af-
fairs of the procession, that every thing might be
settled in the handsomest manner. When the next
day came, all things were in order before day.

THERE were ranks of people standing on each side
of the way, as they yet stand at this day, wherever
the king is to march; and within these ranks none
but men of great dignity are allowed to come. There
were men posted, with scourges in their hands, who
scourged any that made disturbance. There stood
first before the gates four thousand of the guards
drawn up, four in front, two thousand on each side
of the gates. All the horsemen that were there at-
tending alighted from their horses, and with their
hands passed through their robes, as they still pass
them at this day when the king takes a view of them.
The *Persians* stood on the right hand, and the other
allies on the left hand of the way. The chariots, in
the same manner, stood half of them on each side.
When the gates of the palace were thrown open,
first there were led certain bulls, very beautiful
beasts,

beasts, four a-breast, devoted to *Jove*, and to such other of the gods as the mages directed; for the *Persians* are of opinion, that artists ought to be made use of in divine affairs, much more than in others. Next to the bulls there were horses led for a sacrifice to the Sun. After these proceeded a white chariot, with its perch of gold, adorned with a crown or wreath around it, and sacred to *Jove*. After this a white chariot sacred to the Sun, and adorned with a crown, as that before. After this proceeded a third chariot, with its horses adorned with scarlet coverings; and behind it followed men that bore fire upon a large altar. After these, *Cyrus* himself appeared without the gates, with a turban on, that was raised high above his head, with a vest of a purple colour, half mixed with white; (and this mixture of white none else is allowed to wear;) about his legs he had a sort of stockings of a yellow colour, a robe wholly purple, and about his turban a diadem or wreath. (His relations had likewise this mark of distinction, and they have it still to this day.) And his hands he kept out of their coverings. By him rode his driver, a tall man, but less than himself; whether it really was so, or whether by some means or other it so fell out, *Cyrus* appeared much the taller. All the people, at the sight of him, paid their adoration; either because some people were before appointed to begin it, or because they were struck with the pomp and solemnity, and thought that *Cyrus* appeared exceedingly tall and beautiful; but no *Persian* ever paid

Cyrus adoration before. When the chariot of *Cyrus* advanced, four thousand of the guards led the way before, two thousand of them attended on each side of it; and the staff-officers about his person being on horseback, finely cloathed, with javelins in their hands, to the number of about three hundred, followed after. Then were led the horses that were maintained for *Cyrus* himself, with their bridles of gold, and thrown over with coverings wrought with a raised work in stripes, and these were about two hundred. After these marched two thousand spearmen. After these the first-formed body of horse, ten thousand in number, ranged a hundred every way, led by *Chrysantas*. After these, another body of ten thousand *Persian* horse, ranged in the same manner, led by *Hystaspes*. After these, another body of ten thousand, in the same manner, led by *Datarnas*. After these, another, led by *Gadatas*. After these marched the *Median* horse, after these the *Armenian* horse, then the *Hyrceanian*, then the *Cadusian*, then the *Sacian*; and after the horse went the chariots, ranged four a-breast, and led by the *Persian*, *Artabates*.

As he marched along, abundance of people, without the ranks, followed by the side, petitioning *Cyrus*, one about one affair, and another about another. Sending, therefore, to them some of the staff-officers who attended his chariot three on each side, for this very purpose of delivering messages, he bid them tell them, that if any of them wanted him upon any business, they should acquaint some of the chief officers

under him with what they wanted, and they, he said, would tell him. These people going their ways, immediately went to the horsemen, and consulted who they should each of them apply to; but those of his friends that *Cyrus* had a mind to have the greatest court and application made to, these he sent somebody to, and called them severally to him, and spoke to them in this manner: “If any of these men that follow by my side acquaint you with any thing, do not give attention to any one that you think says nothing to the purpose; but whoever desires what is just, give me an account of it, that we may consult together, and effect their business for them.” Others, when they were called upon, riding up with the utmost dispatch, obeyed, contributing to the support of *Cyrus*’s empire, and shewing their own readiness to obey: But there was one *Daipharnes*, a man of absurd and uncouth manners, who thought, that by not paying obedience with such dispatch, he should appear a man of more dignity and freedom; as soon, therefore, as *Cyrus* perceived this, before the man came up so near as that he might speak to him, he sent one of his staff-officers, and bid him tell him, that he had now no longer any need of him; and he never sent for him afterwards. But there was one who was sent-to later, who rode up to him sooner than he, and to this man *Cyrus* gave one of the horses that followed in his train, and ordered one of the staff-officers to conduct the horse for him wherever he should order. This appeared, to those that saw it,

it, to be a ~~very~~ great honour; and after this, many more people made their court to this man.

WHEN they came to the sacred enclosures, they sacrificed to Joye, and burnt the bulls entirely; then they sacrificed to the Sun, and burnt the horses entirely; then, killing certain victims to the Earth, they did as the mages directed; then they sacrificed to the Heroes, Guardians of *Syria*.

AFTER this, the country thereabouts being very fine, he appointed a certain limited piece of ground, of about five stades, and bid them, nation by nation, put their horses to their speed. He himself rode the race with the *Persians*, and gained the victory, for he was extremely well practised in horsemanship. Amongst the *Medes*, *Artabates* got the victory, for *Cyrus* had given him a horse. Amongst the *Syrians*, their chief got the victory. Amongst the *Armenians*, *Tigranes*. Amongst the *Hyrceanians*, the son of the commander of their horse. And amongst the *Sacians*, a private man, with his horse, left the others behind by almost half the course.

AND upon this occasion, *Cyrus* is said to have asked the young man, if he would accept of a kingdom in exchange for his horse? And the young man is said to have replied thus: "A kingdom I would not accept for him, but I would consent to oblige a worthy man with him." Then *Cyrus* said, "Come, I will shew you where you may throw blindfold, and not miss a worthy man." "By all means, then, (said the *Sacian*, taking up a clod;) shew me
" where

“ where I may throw with this clod.” Then *Cyrus* shewed him a place where a great many of his friends were; and the man, shutting his eyes, threw his clod, and hit *Pberaulas* as he was riding by; for *Pberaulas* happened to be carrying some orders from *Cyrus*, and when he was struck he did not turn aside, but went on upon the business that was ordered him. The *Sacian* then looking up, asked whom he had hit? “ None, by *Jove*! (said he,) of those that are present.” “ But sure (said the young man) it was none of those that are absent.” “ Yes, by *Jove*! (said *Cyrus*,) “ you hit that man that rides hastily on there by the chariots.” “ And how came he not to turn back?” said he. Then *Cyrus* said, “ Why, in probability, it is some madman.” The young man, hearing this, went to see who it was, and found *Pberaulas* with his chin all over dirt and blood, for the blood gushed from his nose upon the stroke that he received. When he came up with him, he asked him, “ Whether he had received a blow?” He answered, “ Yes, as you see:” “ Then (said he) “ I make you a present of this horse.” He then asked, “ For what?” And upon this the *Sacian* gave him a relation of the thing, and in conclusion said, “ And I believe I have not missed of a worthy man.” *Pberaulas* then said, “ But if you had been wise, you had given it to a richer man than I; but I now accept it, and beseech the gods, who have made me the receiver of this blow from you, to grant that I may behave so as to make you not
“ repent

“repent your present to me. Now, (said he,) do
“you mount my horse, and ride off upon him, and
“I will be with you presently.” Thus they parted.

AMONGST the *Cadusians*, *Rathonicis* gained the victory. He likewise put their chariots severally to the trial of their speed; and to the victors he gave oxen, that they might sacrifice and feast, and he gave them cups. He himself took the ox that was his prize; but his share of the cups he gave to *Pheraulas*, because he thought that he had directed the procession from the palace in a very handsome manner.

THIS method of procession, then settled by *Cyrus*, continues still in use with the king at this day, excepting only that the victims make no part of it, when he does not sacrifice. When all was at an end, they returned again to the city, and they that had houses given them, quartered in their houses, and they that had not, in their ranks.

BUT *Pheraulas* inviting the *Sacian* that presented him with the horse, gave him an entertainment; he furnished him with all other things in abundance; and, after they had supped, he filled him the cups that he had received from *Cyrus*, drank to him, and made him a present of them. But the *Sacian* observing a great many fine carpets and coverlets, a great deal of fine furniture, and abundance of domesticks: “Tell me, (said he,) *Pheraulas*! were
“you one of the rich when you were at home?”—
“How rich do you mean? (said *Pheraulas*;) I was
“one

“ one of those that lived directly by the work of their
“ own hands; for my father maintaining himself
“ very poorly by his own labour, bred me up under
“ the discipline of the boys; but when I became a
“ youth, not being able to maintain me idle, he took
“ me into the country, and ordered me to work.
“ Here did I maintain him whilst he lived, digging,
“ and planting with my own hands, a little piece
“ of land, that was not an ungrateful one, but the
“ justest in the world. For the seed that it received
“ it returned me justly and handsomely again, with
“ an overplus that indeed was not very abundant,
“ but sometimes out of its generosity returned me
“ double of what it received. Thus then I lived
“ at home, but now, all these things that you see,
“ *Cyrus* has given me.” Then the *Sacian* said,
“ O happy are you in other respects, as well as in
“ this; that from being poor before, you are now
“ become rich! For I am of opinion, that you
“ grow rich with the more pleasure, as you come
“ to be possessed of riches, after having thirsted for
“ them before.” *Pheraulas* then said, “ And do you
“ think, *Sacian*, that I live with the more pleasure,
“ the more I possess? Do not you know, (said he,)
“ that I neither eat, nor drink, nor sleep with one
“ jot more pleasure now, than when I was poor?
“ But by all this abundance, thus much I gain,
“ that I am to guard more, to distribute more to
“ to others, and to have the trouble of taking care
“ of more. For a great many domesticks now de-
“ mand

“mand their food of me, their drink, and their
“cloaths; some are in want of physicians; one
“comes and brings me sheep that have been torn
“to pieces by wolves, or oxen killed by falling
“from a precipice, or tells me of a distemper got
“amongst the cattle: So that I think, (said *Phe-*
“*raulas*,) “by possessing abundance, I have now more
“afflictions than I had before, by having but little.”
“But, by *Jove*! (said the *Sacian*,) when all is well,
“and you are able to cast your eyes around upon
“numerous possessions, you are certainly much
“better pleased than I am.” *Pheraulas* then said,
“*Sacian*, it is not so pleasant to possess riches, as it
“is afflicting to lose them; and you will find that
“what I say is true. For there are none of those
“that possess riches that are forced from the en-
“joyment of rest, by the pleasure which they af-
“ford; but of those that lose them, you will see
“none that are able to sleep, because of the concern
“it gives them.” — “By *Jove*! (said the *Sacian*,) nor
“will you see any of those fall asleep that at first
“obtain them, because of the pleasure it gives them.”
“You say true, (said he,) for if the possessing them
“was as pleasant as the obtaining them, the rich
“would very much exceed the poor in happiness.
“But then, *Sacian*! (said he,) he that possesses
“abundance, must of necessity expend abundance,
“both upon the gods, upon his friends, and upon
“strangers. Whoever, therefore, is greatly pleased
“with the possession of riches, be assured will be
“greatly

“greatly afflicted at the expence of them.”—“By
 “*Jove!* (said the *Sacian*,) I am not one of those,
 “but I take it to be a happiness for a man to have
 “abundance, and to expend abundance.”—“Why,
 “then, (said *Pheraulas*,) in the name of all the gods!
 “are not you this instant that happy man, to make
 “me so at the same time? For do you take possession
 “of all these things, and use them as you please;
 “maintain me only as a stranger, or yet more
 “sparingly than a stranger; for it shall be enough
 “for me to share with you in what you have.”—
 “You jest,” said the *Sacian*. *Pheraulas* then as-
 serted, with an oath, that he spoke in earnest.
 “And I will gain you, *Sacian!* something farther
 “from *Cyrus*; and that is, that you shall not be
 “obliged to attend at his doors, nor to engage in
 “military service, but you shall stay at home,
 “abounding in riches. And those other affairs I
 “will perform for you and for myself; and if I get
 “any thing valuable by my attendance upon *Cyrus*,
 “or by any military expedition, I will bring it to
 “you, that you may still have the command of
 “more: Do you, (said he,) but free me from this
 “care. For if I can be at leisure from these affairs,
 “I think that you will be of very great use, both
 “to me and to *Cyrus*.”

HAVING thus discoursed, they settled these af-
 fairs, and put them in practice. The one thought
 himself made a happy man, by having the command
 of great riches, and the other reckoned himself the
 most

most fortunate man in the world, in having a steward, who afforded him leisure to do what was agreeable to him. *Pheraulas* was in his temper extremely kind, and friendly to his acquaintance; and no care or culture bestowed upon any thing, appeared so pleasing to him, or so profitable, as that bestowed upon men. For man, he thought, was of all other creatures the best and the most grateful; because he observed of men, that when they were commended by any one, they were zealous in their returns of praise; that they used their endeavours to do kindnesses to those that had done kindnesses to them; that they were kindly affected to those whom they knew to be kindly affected to them; and those who they knew had a love for them, they could not possibly hate; and that of all other creatures, they were the most inclined to make their parents all returns of respect and service, both while living, and when dead. And all other animals he reckoned more ungrateful and more ill-natured than man. Thus *Pheraulas* was much delighted, that, by being freed from the care of other possessions, he should be at leisure to mind his friends. And the *Sacian* was delighted, because he was to have the possession of abundance, and was to spend abundance. The *Sacian* loved *Pheraulas*, because he was always bringing him something; and *Pheraulas* loved the *Sacian*, because he was willing to take all; and though he charged himself with the care of still
more

more and more, yet he gave him never the more trouble. Thus did these men live.

CYRUS having sacrificed, and making an entertainment with the prize of his victory, invited those of his friends that appeared the most desirous to increase his power, and that paid him honour in the most affectionate manner; and with them, he invited *Artabazus* the *Mede*, *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, the *Hyrceanian* commander of horse, and *Gobrias*. *Gadatas* was the commander of his eunuchs; and all the management within doors was settled as he thought fit to regulate it. When there were any that supped with him, *Gadatas* did not sit down, but minded the business; but when there was no company, he then supped with him; for he was pleased with his conversation; and in return, he was presented with many great and noble things, both by *Cyrus* himself, and by many others upon *Cyrus's* account.

As the persons that were invited to supper came, he did not place every one as it happened by chance to fall out, but the man that he most esteemed he placed upon his left-hand, as if this side were more exposed to dangerous designs than the right. The next in his esteem he placed upon his right-hand; the third again upon his left; and the fourth upon his right; and if there were more, he went on with them in the same manner. He thought it of service, to make it evident how far he esteemed every one; because where men

think

think that he who excels others, is not to have his praises published, nor to receive his rewards; there, it is plain, they have no emulation to each other. But where he that excels has the advantage, there they appear to struggle with the utmost zeal. Thus *Cyrus* made those known that were chief in his esteem; beginning first with their place, as they sat, and as they stood by him. Yet this privilege of place in sitting, he did not make perpetual; but made it a rule, that a man might advance, by noble actions, to the more honourable seat; and if he grew negligent and remiss, might sink down to the less honourable. And if he that was possessed of the principal seat, did not appear to have received the greatest number of valuable things at his hands, he was ashamed. And these things that were practised in the time of *Cyrus*, I perceive continue still thus to this day.

WHEN they had supped, it did not appear at all wonderful to *Gobrias*, that a man, who had the command of many, should have every thing in great abundance. But that *Cyrus*, who had performed such great things, if he thought that he had got any thing that was delicate, should never spend it himself alone, but give himself trouble in desiring his friends that were present to share it, this he thought wonderful! and frequently he saw him send to some of his absent friends, things that he happened to be pleased with himself. So that when they

had supped, and *Cyrus* by presents to several, had cleared his table of all that plenty that was upon it, then *Gobrias* said, “before, *Cyrus*, I thought that you
 “most excelled the rest of men, in being the most
 “able in the command of an army, but now, I
 “swear by the gods! that you excel more in benignity and love to mankind, than in military conduct.” “And, by *Jove*, (said *Cyrus*,) it is much
 “more agreeable to shew acts of love to men, than
 “acts of skill in the conduct of an army.” “How
 “so?” said *Gobrias*. “Because these, (said he,) must
 “be shewn by doing mischief to men, and those by
 “doing them good.”

AFTER this, when they had drank a little, *Hystaspes* put this question to *Cyrus*: “Would you be offended,
 “*Cyrus*, (said he,) if I should ask you something that
 “I am desirous to know from you?” “By the gods! (said he,) quite the contrary. I should be offended
 “if I perceived that you retained what you had a
 “mind to ask me.” “Tell me, then, (said he,) when
 “you have called me, did I ever refuse to come?”
 “Pray be quiet,” said *Cyrus*. “Or did I ever obey
 “your summons slowly?” “No, nor this neither.”
 “Have I ever neglected to do what you have ordered me?” “I do not lay it to your charge,” said he.
 “And in what I have done, can you accuse
 “me of not having done it with alacrity and pleasure?” “This, (said *Cyrus*,) the least of all.”
 “In the name of all the gods! then, *Cyrus*, (said he,)
 “by

“ by what means is it, that *Chryfantas* has prevailed
“ upon you, so as to be placed before me in the
“ more honourable seat ?” “ Shall I tell you ?” said
Cyrus. “ By all means,” said he. “ And will not
“ you be offended with me when you hear the
“ truth ?” “ No, I shall be pleased, (said he,) if I
“ find that I am not wronged.” — “ Then, (said he,)
“ *Chryfantas* here, in the first place, never waited my
“ call, but, before he was called, was ready at hand
“ for our service. And then, not only what he was
“ ordered, but whatever he himself thought best
“ for us to be done, that he did. When it was ne-
“ cessary to say any thing to our allies, he advised
“ me what he thought was becoming and proper for
“ me to say ; and what he perceived I was desirous
“ that our allies should know, but was ashamed to
“ say of myself, this he spoke, as if he were de-
“ claring his own opinion. So that in these matters,
“ what hinders him from being reckoned of more use
“ to me, even than myself ? As to himself, he always
“ says, that the things he has are sufficient for
“ him. But it appears evidently that he is always
“ looking out for what it may be of service for me
“ to have ; and, with the advantages that befall me,
“ he is more delighted and pleased than myself.” —
To this *Hystaspes* said, “ by *Jove* ! *Cyrus* ! I am
“ pleased that I have asked you these things.”
“ And why ?” said he. “ Because I will endeavour
“ too to practise them. One thing only there is,

(said he,) “that I do not know; and that is, how
 “to make it evident, that I rejoice at your advan-
 “tages; whether I must clap my hands, or laugh, or
 “what I must do?” *Artabazus* to this said, “you
 “must dance the *Persian* dance.” And at this they
 laughed.

As the entertainment went on, *Cyrus* put this
 question to *Gobrias*. “Tell me, (said he,) *Gobrias*!
 “do you think that you should give your daughter
 “to one of these that are here, with more satisfaction
 “now, than when at first you became acquainted
 “with us.” “And must I tell the truth, then?”
 said *Gobrias*. “Yes, by *Jove*, (said *Cyrus*,) since
 “no question requires falsehood in answer to it.”
 “Be assured then, (said he,) that I should do it with
 “much more satisfaction now.” “And can you
 “give, (said *Cyrus*,) a reason why?” “I can.”
 “Give it me then.” “Because at that time I saw
 “these men bear toils and dangers with alacrity;
 “but now I see them bear prosperity with discretion
 “and good temper. And to me, *Cyrus*, it ap-
 “pears more difficult, to find a man that bears pros-
 “perity well, than one that bears adversity well.
 “For prosperity inspires most men with pride and
 “insolence; but adversity gives discretion and mo-
 “desty of temper to all.” Then *Cyrus* said, “do
 “you hear, *Hystaspes*, this saying of *Gobrias*?”
 “Yes, by *Jove*, (said he,) I do; and if he pronounce
 “many such, he shall much sooner have me for a
 “suitor

“fuitor to his daughter; than if he shewed me abundance of cups of great value.” “Truly, (said *Gobrias*,) I have a great many such written down; and I will not grudge them to you if you have my daughter for a wife. But my cups, (said he,) since you seem to dislike them, I do not know but I will give to *Chrysfantas* here, especially since he has run away with your seat.”

“WELL! (said *Cyrus*,) if you, *Hystaspes*, and the rest that are here present, will acquaint me when any of you are endeavouring after a wife, you will then know how good an assistant I shall be to you.” *Gobrias* then said, “but if one has a mind to dispose of a daughter, who must one tell it to?” “This, (said *Cyrus*,) must be told to me too; for I am a notable man in this art.” “What art?” said *Chrysfantas*. “Why in knowing what match will best suit each particular man.” Then *Chrysfantas* said, “in the name of all the gods! then, tell me what wife you think will best suit me.” “First, (said he,) she must be little; for you are little yourself; and if you marry a tall wife, and would kiss her as she stands, you must leap up like a little dog.” “You are much in the right, (said he,) to provide against this, for I am by no means a good carperer.” “And then, (said he,) she must have a nose that sinks in the middle.” “And what is this for?” “Because, (said he,) you have a
D d 3 “crooked

“crooked nose, and a rising hook will best suit a
 “sinking in.” “Do you say, then, that a fasting
 “wife would best suit one that had feasted plen-
 “tifully, as I have done now? “Yes, by *Jove*!
 (said *Cyrus*,) “for the bellies of those that are full,
 “rise; and the bellies of those that are fasting, sink
 “in.”—“But, in the name of all the gods! (said
Chryfantas,) can you tell, what wife will be best for
 “a cold king?”—Here *Cyrus* fell a laughing, and
 so did the others. And as they were laughing,
Hystaspes said, “in the whole compass of your
 “royal dignity, *Cyrus*, I envy you the most for this.”
 “For what?” said *Cyrus*. “Why, that as cold
 “as you are, you can make people laugh.” “And
 “would not you give a great deal, (said *Cyrus* then,)
 “that these things had been said by you, and that
 “she that you desire should think well of you,
 “and should be informed that you are a polite
 “agreeable man?”—Thus they jested one with
 another.

AFTER this he produced a woman's attire for *Tigranes*, and bid him give it his wife, because she bravely attended her husband in the service. To *Artabazus* he gave a golden cup; to the *Hyrceanian* a horse; and many other noble presents he made:
 “But, *Gobrias*, (said he,) I will give you a husband
 “for your daughter.” “And shall not I (said *Hystaspes*)
 “be the man that you will give, that I may
 “get

“ get those writings ?” “ Have you substance enough (said *Cyrus*) “ to deserve the girl ?” “ Yes, by *Jove* ! “ I have much more than enough.” “ And where (said he) “ is this substance of your’s ?” “ Here, (said he,) “ where you, my friend, sit.” “ That is “ enough for me,” said *Gobrias*; and holding out his right hand, “ Give him me, *Cyrus*, (said he,) for “ I accept him.” Then *Cyrus*, taking *Hystaspes*’s right hand, presented it to *Gobrias*, and he received it. After this he made a great many noble presents to *Hystaspes*, that he might send them to the maid; and pulling *Chryfantas* to him, he kissed him: Upon this, *Artabazus* said, “ By *Jove* ! *Cyrus*, you have not “ given me my cup of the same gold with this present that you have made *Chryfantas*.” “ But I will “ give you the same,” said he. He asked him when ? “ Thirty years hence,” said he. “ Well, prepare “ yourself for me, (said he,) as one that intends to “ wait, and not to die before the time.” Thus ended this conversation. And when they rose, *Cyrus* rose with them, and conducted them to his doors.

THE next day all those of his allies that had voluntarily attended him he dismissed to their homes, excepting such as chose to live near him; to these he gave lands and houses, which the descendants of those who then staid possess still to this day; and they were for the most part *Medes* and *Hyrceanians*. To those that went off he gave many presents, and dismissed them, both commanders and soldiers, with-

out leaving them the least cause to complain. After this he divided the treasure that he gained at *Sardes* among the soldiers that were about him; and to the commanders of ten thousand, and to the officers that were about him, he gave the choice things, according to the merit of every one; the rest he parcelled out, and giving a share to each of the commanders of ten thousand, he left it to them to distribute it in the same manner as he had distributed to them; and these other treasures each commander distributed to the commanders under him, giving judgment upon the merit of every one: And the commanders of six giving judgment upon the private men that were under them, distributed the last remaining treasures severally to them, according to their desert. So they all received their just share.

WHEN they had received what was then given them, some of them spoke of *Cyrus* in this manner: “Surely he must have abundance, when he gives so much to every one of us!” But others of them said, “What is the abundance that he has? *Cyrus* is not of a temper to mind wholly the heaping up of treasure, but he is more pleased with bestowing, than with having it.” *Cyrus* perceiving these discourses, and the opinions that men had of him, assembled his friends, and all the other proper persons together, and spoke to this effect.—“My friends, I have seen men that were willing to be thought possessed of more than they really had, and who thought, by that means, to appear the more gene-
rous

“ rous and noble : But these men, in my opinion,
“ are drawn into the very reverse of what they in-
“ tend ; for he that seems to have abundance, and
“ does not appear to do that service to his friends
“ that is suitable to his substance, gains, in my opi-
“ nion, the character of being mean and fordid.
“ There are those, (said he,) on the other side, who
“ desire, that what they have may be concealed ; and
“ these too, in my opinion, are faulty to their friends.
“ For frequently friends that are in want, avoid tell-
“ ing it to their companions, because they are igno-
“ rant of what they have, and so are deceived. But
“ the plainest simplest part, in my opinion, is, to
“ make the whole strength of one’s fortune appear,
“ and with it to try to get the better of others in
“ generosity ; I intend, therefore, (said he,) to shew
“ you every thing that it is possible for you to see
“ of what I have, and of what you cannot see, to
“ give you an account.” Having said this, he shew-
ed them abundance of rich and valuable things ;
and those that lay so as not easily to be seen he
gave them an account of ; and in conclusion said
thus :—“ All these things, my friends ! (said he,) you
“ ought to reckon not more mine than yours ; for I
“ have collected them together, not that I may spend
“ them myself, nor that I may myself wear them out,
“ for I should not be able to do it, but that I may
“ always have wherewithal to present any of you,
“ upon your performance of any thing great and
“ noble ; and that in case any of you think you are
“ in

“in want of any thing, you may come to me and
 “take what you happen to be in want of.” Thus
 were these things said.

BUT when he thought that affairs were now so well settled in *Babylon*, that he might venture to travel abroad, he himself prepared for a journey into *Persia*, and gave out orders upon it to others. And when he judged that he was sufficiently provided with the things he thought he should want, he departed. Now we will give an account how so great an equipage was in the most orderly manner set out, and then again put up together in the same manner, and disposed into the place where it ought to be; for wherever the king encamps, they that are about his person attend the service with tents, both winter and summer.

CYRUS then immediately thought fit to place his own tent fronting to the east. Then he first directed at what distance from the royal tent the guards should pitch theirs; he then appointed the bakers, and those that were concerned in making the bread, their station upon the right: the cooks theirs upon the left. To the horses he appointed their station upon the right, and to the other beasts of burthen theirs upon the left; and all the rest was so disposed, that every one knew his own station, both as to measure and place. When they are to put all up, every one packs up such baggage as it was appointed him to use; and there are others that place it upon the beasts of burthen; so that all the baggage-carriers
 come

come up at the same time to the things that are severally appointed them to carry; and they all, at the same time, place them upon the beasts that severally belong to them.; so that the same time that suffices for the striking of one tent, suffices for all. The case is the same in the displaying and setting out of all. And with respect to the doing all things that are necessary in proper time, every one is, in the same manner, appointed what he is to do; and by this means the same time suffices for the doing things in one part and in all. And as the servants that dispatched all the necessary business had all, severally, their proper stations, so they that bore arms had their stations in this encampment suitable to the sort of arms they severally had; they knew what their station was, and all disposed themselves into it without any hesitation; for *Cyrus* thought the proper placing of things a noble rule in a house; because if one happen to want any thing, it is known whither one must go to take it. But the proper placing of the several different sorts of military men he reckoned a much nobler thing, as the occasions of putting all to their use, in the affairs of war, are more sudden, and the faults arising from those that are dilatory in them are of worse consequence; and the most valuable advantages in war, he observed, arose from having all things ready for the occasion. Upon these accounts, therefore, he took the greatest care of this propriety of place.

FIRST,

FIRST, then, he placed himself in the midst of the camp, as being the strongest and securest station; then those whom he chiefly confided in, he had, according to custom, about himself. Next to these, in a circle round, he had the horsemen and charioteers; for he was of opinion, that a secure station was necessary for these people, because they encamp without having at hand any of those arms that they engage with, and require a considerable time to arm themselves if they are to advance so as to do any service. To the right and left of himself, and of the horsemen, was the station of the shield-men. The station of the archers was before and behind himself and the horsemen. The heavy-armed men, and such as had large shields, he had in a circle round all, as a rampart, that in case there were any occasion for the horsemen to make ready, they that were the fittest to make a stand being placed before them, might give them time to arm securely. And as the heavy-armed men slept there in order round him, so did the shield-men and archers; so that even in the night-time, if the occasion required, as the heavy-armed men were ready prepared to come to blows with such as came up close with them, so the archers and javelin-men, if any people approached them, were ready to discharge their javelins and arrows over the heads of the heavy-armed; and all the commanders had ensigns on their tents. And as in cities discreet and good servants know the habitations of most people, but chiefly of those that it is proper

proper for them to know ; so did the servants of *Cyrus* know the stations that the chief leaders had in the encampments, and knew the ensigns that belonged to each of them ; so that whatever *Cyrus* might want, they were not to seek for them, but ran the shortest way directly to each of them. And by means of the several sets of people being distinct, it was much the more readily observed when any one was disorderly, and when any one did not perform what he was commanded. And things standing thus, he was of opinion, that if any body attacked him, either by night or day, such aggressor would fall into his camp as into an ambuscade.

AND he did not only think it a part of the tactick-art for a man to be able to draw up a phalanx easily and cleverly, or to increase it in depth, or to form a phalanx upon the wing, or upon the enemy's appearing to the right, the left, or the rear, to wheel properly ; but to separate men when it was proper, he took to be a part of this art ; to post each part where they might be most serviceable, and to make dispatch where it might be fit to prevent the enemy. All these things, and such like, he took to be the business of a man skilled in tacticks. He took care of all these things alike ; and in his marches he moved always in a disposition suitable to what occurred ; but in his encampments he placed his people for the most part as has been said.

WHEN, in the course of their march, they arrived in the *Median* territory, *Cyrus* turned off to visit *Cyaxares* ;

Cyaxares; and after they had embraced each other, *Cyrus* first told *Cyaxares*, that there were domestics and palaces set apart for him in *Babylon*, that when he came thither he might have what was his own to come to. And he then made him a great many other noble presents. *Cyaxares* received them, and sent his daughter to him with a crown of gold and with bracelets, with a collar, and a *Median* robe that was as fine as was possible; and the maid put the crown upon *Cyrus's* head. *Cyaxares* then said, “ I
“ give you the maid too, *Cyrus*, for your wife; she
“ is my own daughter; your father married my fa-
“ ther's daughter, and from her you are descended;
“ this is she, that when you was a boy, and amongst
“ us, you used to fondle, and when any one asked
“ her who she would marry, she said *Cyrus*; and
“ with her I give all *Media* as her dowry, for I have
“ no legitimate male issue.” Thus he spoke, and *Cyrus* replied, “ O *Cyaxares*! I applaud the race, the
“ maid, and the presents that attend her! And with
“ the consent (said he) of my father and mother, I
“ am ready to agree with you.” Thus *Cyrus* spoke, but yet he presented the maid with all that he thought would be pleasing to *Cyaxares*; and having done this he continued his march to *Persia*.

AND when, in the course of his march, he arrived at the borders of *Persia*, there he left the rest of the army. But he himself, together with his friends, proceeded on to the city; carrying with him such numbers of victims, as were sufficient for all the

Persians

Persians to sacrifice and feast upon. He brought with him such presents as were proper for his father and mother, and his other friends ; and such as were proper for the elders and magistrates, and for all the alike-honoured. He gave likewise to all the *Persians*, both men and women, such presents as the king still makes at this day, when he comes into *Persia*. After this, *Cambyfes* assembled the *Persian* elders and magistrates, who had the direction of the greatest affairs ; he summoned likewise *Cyrus*, and spoke to this effect :

“ MEN of *Persia* ! and you, O *Cyrus* ! I have
“ justly an affection for you both ; for over you I
“ am King, and you *Cyrus* ! are my son. It is just,
“ therefore, that I should lay before you whatever I
“ judge to be of advantage to you both. With re-
“ spect to the time past, you have advanced *Cyrus*
“ in his fortune, by granting an army, and by con-
“ stituting him the commander of it. *Cyrus*, in the
“ conduct of this army, has, with the help of the
“ gods ! gained you, O *Persians* ! glory amongst
“ all men, and honour throughout all *Asia* ! Of
“ those that served with him, the better sort he has
“ enriched, and the multitude he has provided with
“ their pay, and with their maintenance ; and by
“ constituting a *Persian* cavalry, he has given the
“ *Persians* a share in the command of the plains.
“ If you continue, therefore, for the future, in the
“ same sentiments, you will be the authors of many
“ advantages to each other. But if either you,
“ *Cyrus* !

“ *Cyrus!* elevated with your present happy circum-
 “ stances, attempt to rule the *Persians* as you do the
 “ others, with regard only to your own interest;
 “ or if you, citizens! envying him his power, en-
 “ deavour to wrest the empire from him; be as-
 “ sured, that you will hinder each other from ob-
 “ taining many advantages. Therefore, that things
 “ may not fall out thus, but rather happily for you,
 “ my opinion is, (said he,) that we make a sacrifice
 “ in common; and calling the gods to witness!
 “ stipulate—that you—*Cyrus!* in case any one
 “ make war upon the *Persian* territory, or attempt
 “ to destroy the *Persian* laws, shall assist in their
 “ defence, with your whole force: And that you—
 “ *Persians!* in case any one attempt to put an end
 “ to *Cyrus’s* empire, or to excite any of his subjects
 “ to revolt, shall yield such assistance in defence of
 “ yourselves, and of *Cyrus*, as he shall order.—Whilst
 “ I live, the royal dignity amongst the *Persians* is
 “ mine; when I am dead, it then plainly belongs
 “ to *Cyrus*, if he lives. And when he comes into
 “ *Persia*, it may be perhaps of religious concern to
 “ you, that he should make these sacrifices for you
 “ that I now make. But when he is abroad, I think
 “ it will be proper, that that person of our race that
 “ appears to you to be the most worthy, should
 “ perform the sacred rites.”

UPON *Cambyses’s* saying this, *Cyrus*, and the *Persian*
 magistrates, joined in opinion with him. And having
 at that time agreed upon these things, (calling upon
 the

the gods as witnesses!) the *Persians* and the king continue still to this day to put them in practice, one towards another.

WHEN these things were performed, *Cyrus* went away: And when he came into *Media*, in his journey back, upon its being agreed to by his father and mother, he married the daughter of *Cyaxares*, who at this day has still the fame of having been extremely beautiful. There are some authors who say, that he married his mother's sister: But she must have been a woman in years, much more probably than one so young. When he had married her, he presently departed, and took her with him.

WHEN he was at *Babylon*, he thought it now proper for him to constitute governors or satraps over the conquered nations. But the commanders of the garrisons in castles, and the commanders of thousands, that were appointed for the guard of the country, he would not allow to obey the orders of any but himself. He used this foresight, upon consideration, that if any of the satraps, by means of their riches, and the numbers of their people, should grow insolent, and attempt to withdraw their obedience from him, they might immediately meet with opposers upon the place. Desiring, therefore, to bring this about, he determined first to call together all the proper persons, and to declare it to them, that they who went upon these employments, might know upon what foot they went; for by this means he thought they would the more easily bear

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it. But if any one were first constituted a commander, and then made the discovery, he was of opinion, that men would bear this with difficulty, imagining that it was done out of distrust of them.

So assembling them together, he spoke to this effect: — “ My friends ! in the cities that have been
“ conquered, there are garrisons and commanders
“ over them, that I left there at the time. And
“ when I went away, I gave them orders not to take
“ upon themselves any other business than to pre-
“ serve the fortresses. Therefore I will not deprive
“ these men of their power, since they have dis-
“ charged themselves handsomely in the guarding of
“ what they had in charge. But I think it proper
“ for me to send other governors, who shall take
“ upon them the rule of the inhabitants ; and who,
“ receiving the revenues, shall give the garrisons
“ their pay, and discharge whatever else is necessary.
“ And to those of you here, that I shall give em-
“ ployment, and send to perform any business in
“ the several nations, I think it proper to distribute
“ lands and houses there ; that the tribute may be
“ there paid them, and that they may bring it to
“ this place, and when they go thither, that they
“ may have what is their own to go to.” — Thus
he said. And to many of his friends he gave houses
and dependents throughout all the conquered cities.
And these precincts remain still at this day in the
possession of the descendants of those who then re-
ceived them ; some in one country, and some in
another ;

another ; and they themselves reside with the king.—
“ And we ought, (said he,) to look out for such
“ satraps to go into these precincts, as will remem-
“ ber to send hither whatever there is that is excel-
“ lent and valuable in every country ; that we,
“ who are here, may share of all that is excellent in
“ every part : For if any misfortune befall them, it
“ will lie upon us to defend them from it.”

HAVING said thus, he ended his discourse. And then from amongst his friends that he knew were desirous to go upon the terms expressed, choosing out such as he thought the most proper, he sent them as satraps. To *Arabia*, he sent *Magabyzus* ; to *Cappadocia*, *Artabatas* ; to the *Greater Phrygia*, *Artacamas* ; to *Lydia* and *Ionia*, *Chrysantas* ; to *Caria*, *Cadusius* ; as that people themselves had desired ; to *Phrygia*, on the *Hellespont*, and *Æolia*, *Pharnuchus*. To *Cilicia*, to *Cyprus*, and to the *Paphlagonians*, he sent no *Persian* satraps, because they seemed to have joined of their own accord with him in his expedition against *Babylon*. But he appointed these likewise a tribute that they were to pay, according to *Cyrus's* establishment at that time ; so that they are still at this day garrisons belonging to the king in the fortresses ; and commanders of thousands appointed by the king to command those forces, and set down in a list belonging to the king.

THE satraps that were thus sent out, he beforehand directed, to imitate as near as was possible, whatever they saw him practise. And in the first

place, that each satrap, out of such of the *Persians*, and of the confederates, as attended him, should establish a number of horse-men, and charioteers; and then should oblige such as had lands and palaces, to pay their attendance at his doors; and practising discreet and modest manners, to yield themselves to the service of the satrap, if any occasion should so require. And that he should discipline at his doors the boys that these men had, as was practised by himself. And that the satrap should take those that attended at his doors out with him to hunt; and exercise himself, and those about him, in military affairs. “ And the man, (said he,) that, in
 “ proportion to his ability, produces me the most
 “ chariots, and the most and the best horse-men,
 “ him will I reward, as an excellent fellow-soldier,
 “ and as an excellent fellow guardian and preserver
 “ of the empire to the *Persians* and myself. Let the
 “ best men with you be honoured with the principal
 “ seats, as they are with me, and let your table,
 “ as mine does, maintain in the first place your domesticks; and then let it be sufficiently furnished
 “ to afford your friends to partake of it; and allow
 “ you every day to reward any one that may have
 “ done a handsome action. Get yourselves parks,
 “ and maintain wild beasts; and neither set meat
 “ at any time before yourselves without having taken
 “ pains, nor throw food to your horses unexercised.
 “ For it is impossible for me, who am but one, with
 “ all the virtue that belongs to human nature, to
 “ preserve

“ preserve all you in safety and prosperity ; but it is
“ my part, making myself a worthy man, together
“ with other worthy men about me, to be an assistant
“ to you. And it is, in like manner, your part,
“ making yourselves worthy men, together with other
“ men of worth about you, to be friends and sup-
“ ports to me. And I desire likewise, that you
“ would observe, that of all these orders that I now
“ give you, I give none to those that are of servile
“ condition. And that the things which I say you
“ ought to do, these I endeavour myself to practise.
“ And as I exhort you to imitate me, so do you in-
“ struct those that are in command under you, to
“ imitate you.”

CYRUS having thus regulated these affairs at that time, all the garrisons under the king are still, at this day, kept likewise in the same method. The doors of all the commanders are frequented in the like manner. All families, both great and little, are in the like manner regulated. The most deserving men, in all companies, are honoured with the principal seats. All marches are ordered in the same method ; and the great multitude of affairs is parcelled out into distinct heads, under a few principal directors.

HAVING told them in what manner they were each of them to manage in these affairs, and having given to each of them a force, he sent them away, and told them all before-hand, that in the following year an

expedition would be undertaken, and a review taken both of men and arms, horses and chariots.

THERE is another thing that we have observed, which they say was begun by *Cyrus*, and continues to this day: That there is a certain person who, at the head of an army, takes a progress every year, and who, in case any of the satraps want assistance, affords it them; and if any of them grow insolent, reduces them to temper; and if any neglect the payment of his tribute, or the protection of the inhabitants, or the care of having the land cultivated, or leaves any other of his orders unexecuted, he puts all these things to rights: Or if he is not able to do it himself he makes a report to the king, and when the king has had an account of it, he takes advice how to deal with the transgressing person. And commonly they who take this progress are the king's son or the king's brother, or one of those they call the king's eye. And sometimes they do not appear, for they each of them return upon the first orders from the king.

WE have likewise been informed of another contrivance of his, with regard to the extent of his empire, by means of which he had immediate intelligence of what passed in the most remote parts of his government: For observing how far a horse was able to travel in a day, he built stables at that distance, and supplied them with horses, and persons to have the care of them; and he appointed a certain person at each of these stages to receive the letters, and to deliver them out, and to receive those horses
that

that had compleated their stage, and to furnish fresh ones. And it is said, that the night did not give any interruption to these stages; for as soon as he arrived who had been his progress all day, another continued it during the night. And in this manner they are said to fly swifter than cranes; but though that be false, yet it is manifest that this is the quickest way of travelling for men; besides, it is of use to have early intelligence of every thing, that immediate provision may be made.

AT the conclusion of the year, *Cyrus* assembled his army together at *Babylon*, which is said to have consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, two thousand chariots armed with scythes, and sixty thousand foot; and having prepared them for it, he undertook that expedition, in which he is reported to have subdued all those nations which lie from the entrance into *Syria* as far as the *Red Sea*. His next expedition is said to have been against *Ægypt*, which he also subdued. Then *Cyrus's* empire was bounded to the east by the *Red Sea*, to the north by the *Euxine Sea*, to the west by *Cyprus* and *Ægypt*, to the south by *Æthiopia*; the extremities of which countries are difficult to inhabit, some of them from excess of heat, some of them from excess of cold; some from too great abundance of water, others from a scarcity of water.

CYRUS residing in the center of these countries, spent the seven winter months at *Babylon*, because that climate is warm, the three spring months at

Susa, and the two summer months at *Ecbatan*; by which means he is said to have enjoyed a perpetual spring with respect to heat and cold. And men stood so affected towards him, that every nation thought they did themselves an injury if they did not send *Cyrus* the most valuable productions of their country, whether they were the fruits of the earth, or creatures bred there, or manufactures of their own; and every city did the same; and every private man thought himself rich if he could oblige *Cyrus*; for as *Cyrus* accepted from each of what they possessed in abundance, so in return he distributed to them what he observed they were in want of.

AFTER he had thus spent some considerable time, *Cyrus*, now in a very advanced age, takes a journey into *Persia*, which was his seventh from the acquisition of his empire, when his father and mother had probably been for some time dead. *Cyrus* made the usual sacrifices, and danced the *Persian* dance, according to the custom of his country, and distributed to every one presents as usual: Then being asleep in the royal palace he had the following dream.—There seemed to advance towards him a person with a more than human majesty in his air and countenance, and to say to him, “*Cyrus!* prepare yourself, for you are “now going to the gods!” After this appearance in his dream he awaked, and seemed assured that his end drew near; therefore taking along with him the victims, he sacrificed on the summit of a mountain (as is the custom in *Persia*) to *Jove Paternal*, the *Sun*,
and

and the rest of the *gods*, accompanying the sacrifices with this prayer:

“ *O Jove Paternal! Sun! and all ye Gods!* receive
“ these sacrifices as the completion of many worthy
“ and handsome actions; and as grateful acknow-
“ ledgments for having signified to me, both by
“ the victims, by celestial signs, by birds, and by
“ omens, what became me to do and not to do.
“ And I abundantly return you thanks, that I have
“ been sensible of your care and protection; and
“ that in the course of my prosperity I never was
“ exalted above what became a man. I implore you
“ now to bestow all happiness on my children! my
“ wife! my friends! and my country!—And for
“ myself, that I may die as I have always lived!”

WHEN he had finished his sacrifices and prayer, he returned home, and finding himself disposed to be quiet, he laid down. At a certain hour proper persons attended, and offered him to wash; he told them that he had rested very well. Then at another hour, proper officers brought him his supper; but *Cyrus* had no appetite to eat, but seemed thirsty, and drank with pleasure. And continuing thus the second and third days, he sent for his sons, who, as it happened, had attended their father; and were then in *Persia*; he summoned likewise his friends and the Magistrates of *Persia*. When they were all met, he began in this manner:

“ *CHILDREN!* and all you *my friends* here
“ present, the conclusion of my life is now at hand,
“ which

“ which I certainly know from many symptoms.
 “ You ought, when I am dead, to act and speak of
 “ me in every thing as a happy man: For when I
 “ was a child, I seemed to have received advantage
 “ from what is esteemed worthy and handsome in
 “ children; so likewise when I was a youth, from
 “ what is esteemed so in young men; so when I came
 “ to be a man, from what is esteemed worthy and
 “ handsome in men. And I have always seemed to
 “ observe myself encrease with time in strength and
 “ vigour; so that I have not found myself weaker
 “ or more infirm in my old age than in my youth.
 “ Neither do I know that I have desired or under-
 “ taken any thing in which I have not succeeded.
 “ By my means, my friends have been made hap-
 “ py, and my enemies enslaved; and my country,
 “ at first inconsiderable in *Asia*, I leave in great re-
 “ putation and honour. Neither do I know that I
 “ have not preserved whatever I acquired. And
 “ though, in time past, all things have succeeded ac-
 “ cording to my wishes, yet an apprehension, lest in
 “ process of time I should see, hear, or suffer some
 “ difficulty, has not let me be too much elated, or
 “ too extravagantly delighted. Now, if I die, I
 “ leave you, children, behind me, (whom the gods
 “ have given me,) and I leave my country and my
 “ friends happy. Ought not I; therefore, in justice,
 “ to be always remembered, and mentioned as for-
 “ tunate and happy?—I must likewise declare to
 “ whom I leave my kingdom; lest that, being doubt-
 ful,

“ful, should hereafter raise dissensions among you.—
“Now, children, I bear an equal affection to you
“both, but I direct, that the elder should have the
“advising and conducting of affairs, as his age re-
“quires it; and it is probable he has more experience.
“And as I have been instructed by my country and
“yours to give place to those older than myself,
“not only brothers, but fellow-citizens, both in
“walking, sitting, and speaking, so I have instructed
“you, from your youth, to shew a regard to your
“elders, and to receive the like from such as were
“inferior to you in age. Receive, then, this dis-
“position as ancient, customary, and legal; do you,
“therefore, *Cambyfes*! hold the kingdom, as allotted
“you by the gods, and by me, so far as it is in my
“power. To you, *Tanoaxares*, I bequeath the sa-
“trapy of the *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Caducians*;
“which, when I allot you, I think I leave your eldest
“brother a larger empire, and the title of a king-
“dom, but to you a happiness freer from care and
“vexation. For I do not see what human satisfac-
“tion you can need; but you will enjoy whatever
“appears agreeable and pleasing to men. An affec-
“tion for such things as are difficult to execute, a
“multitude of pains, and an impossibility of being
“quiet, anxiety from an emulation of my actions,
“forming designs yourself, and having designs form-
“ed against you; these are things which must more
“necessarily attend a king, than one in your station;
“and be assured, these give many interruptions to
“pleasure

“ pleasure and satisfaction. Know therefore, *Cam-*
“ *byses!* that it is not the golden scepter, which can
“ preserve your kingdom; but faithful friends are
“ a prince’s truest and securest scepter. But do not
“ imagine that men are naturally faithful; (for then
“ they would appear so to all, as other natural en-
“ dowments do) but every one must render others
“ faithful to himself. And they are not to be procured
“ by violence, but rather by kindness and beneficence.
“ If, therefore, you would constitute others joint-
“ guardians with you of your kingdom, whom
“ can you better begin with than him, who
“ is of the same blood of yourself? And fellow-
“ citizens are nearer to us than strangers, and those
“ who live and eat with us, than those that do not.
“ And those who have the same original, who have
“ been nourished by the same mother, and grown up
“ in the same house, and beloved by the same
“ parents, and who call upon the same father and
“ mother, are not they of all others the nearest to
“ us? Do not you, therefore, render those advan-
“ tages fruitless, by which the gods unite brothers in
“ affinity and relation; but to those advantages,
“ add other friendly offices; and by that means your
“ friendship will be reciprocally solid and lasting.
“ The taking care of a brother, is providing for one’s
“ self. To whom can the advancement of a bro-
“ ther be equally honourable, as to a brother? Who
“ can shew a regard to a great and powerful man,
“ equal to his brother? Who will fear to injure ano-
“ ther

“ther so much as him, whose brother is in an ex-
“alted station? Be, therefore, second to none in
“submission and good will to your brother, since
“no one can be so particularly serviceable or inju-
“rious to you; and I would have you consider
“how you can hope for greater advantages, by
“obliging any one so much as him? Or whom
“can you assist that will be so powerful an ally in
“war? Or what is more infamous than want of
“friendship between brothers? Who, of all men,
“can we so handsomely pay regard to, as to a bro-
“ther? In a word, *Cambyses!* your brother is the
“only one you can advance next to your person,
“without the envy of others. Therefore, in the
“name of the gods, children! have regard to one
“another, if you are careful to do what is acceptable
“to me. — For you ought not to imagine you
“certainly know, that, after I have closed this
“period of human life, I shall no longer exist.
“For neither do you see my soul, but you con-
“clude from its operations, that it does exist.
“And have not you observed, what terrors and
“apprehensions murderers are inspired with, by
“those who have suffered violence from them?
“What racks and tortures do they convey to the
“guilty? Or how do you think honours should
“have continued to be paid to the deceased, if
“their souls were destitute of all power and virtue?
“No, children, I can never be persuaded, that the
“soul lives no longer than it dwells in this mortal
“body,

“ body, and that it dies on its separation. For I
“ see that the soul communicates vigour and motion
“ to mortal bodies, during its continuance in
“ them. Neither can I be persuaded that the soul
“ is divested of intelligence, on its separation from
“ this gross senseless body. But it is probable, that
“ when the soul is separated, it becomes pure and
“ entire, and is then more intelligent. It is evident,
“ that on man’s dissolution, every part of him re-
“ turns to what is of the same nature with itself,
“ except the soul. That alone is invisible, both
“ during its presence here, and at its departure.
“ And you may have observed, that nothing re-
“ sembles death so much as sleep; but then it is,
“ that the human soul appears most divine, and has
“ a prospect of futurity, for then it is probable,
“ the soul is most free and independent.—If there-
“ fore things are as I think, and that the soul leaves
“ the body, having regard to my soul, comply
“ with my request.—But if it be otherwise, and that
“ the soul continuing in the body, perishes with it,
“ let nothing appear in your thoughts or actions,
“ criminal or impious, for fear of the gods, who
“ are external, whose power and inspection ex-
“ tends over all things, and who preserve the har-
“ mony and order of the universe free from decay or
“ defect, whose greatness and beauty is inexplica-
“ ble.—Next to the gods, have regard to the whole
“ race of mankind, in perpetual succession. For the
“ gods have not concealed you in obscurity; but
“ there

“ there is a necessity, your actions should be conspicu-
“ ous to the world. If they are virtuous, and free
“ from injustice, they will give you power and in-
“ terest in all men. But if you project what is
“ unjust against each other, no man will trust you ;
“ for no one can place a confidence in you, though his
“ inclination to it be never so great, when he sees
“ you unjust, where it most becomes you to be a
“ friend. If, therefore, I have not rightly instructed
“ you what you ought to be to one another, learn
“ it from those who lived before our time, for that
“ will be the best lesson. For there are many who
“ have lived affectionate parents to their children,
“ and friends to their brothers ; and some there
“ are, who have acted the opposite part towards
“ each other. Whichsoever of these you shall ob-
“ serve to have been most advantageous, you will
“ do well in giving it the preference in your choice.
“ But perhaps this is sufficient, as to these matters.—
“ When I am dead, children ! do not inhume my
“ body in gold, nor in silver, nor any thing else
“ but lay it in the *earth* as soon as possible. For
“ what can be more happy than to mix with the
“ *earth*, which gives birth and nourishment to all
“ things excellent and good ? and as I have always
“ hitherto bore an affection to men, so it is now
“ most pleasing to me, to incorporate with that
“ which is beneficial to men.—Now, (said he,) it
“ seems to me, that my soul is beginning to leave
“ me,

“ me, in the same manner as it is probable it begins
 “ its departure with others. If, therefore, any of
 “ you are desirous of touching my right hand, or
 “ willing to see my face, while it has life, come near
 “ to me. For when I shall have covered it, I request
 “ of you children, that neither yourselves, nor any
 “ others would look upon my body. Summon all
 “ the *Persians* and their allies before my tomb, to re-
 “ joice for me; that I shall be then out of danger of
 “ suffering any evil; whether I shall be with the
 “ deity, or shall be reduced to nothing! As many as
 “ come, do you dismiss with all those favours that are
 “ thought proper for a happy man. And, (said he,)
 “ remember this, as my last and dying words!—If
 “ you do kindnesses to your friends, you will be
 “ able to injure your enemies.—Farewel! dear
 “ children! and tell this to your mother, as from
 “ me. And all you, my friends! both such of
 “ you as are here present, and the rest who are
 “ absent! farewel!”—Having said this, and taken
 every one by the right hand, he covered himself,
 and thus expired.

THAT *Cyrus's* empire was the noblest and most
 extensive in *Asia*, is even confirmed by itself. It
 was terminated to the east by the *Red Sea*; to the
 north by the *Euxine Sea*; to the west by *Cyprus* and
Egypt; to the south by *Æthiopia*; and though of
 such an extent, was governed by the single will of
Cyrus. And to those who were subject to him, he
 shewed *all* kindness and regard, as to children,
 and

and they paid *Cyrus* duty and respect, as to a father. Immediately on *Cyrus's* death, his sons fell into dissensions, cities and nations revolted, every thing tending to ruin. To shew that what I assert is truth, I will begin by things divine.

I know that in early times of their institution, the king, and those that were subject to him, were religious observers of their oaths, and steady to their promises, even to the most criminal. If they had not been so, and that opinion of them had prevailed, no one would have trusted them; as at this time no one will, since their impiety is notorious. Neither had the commanders of the army, in the expedition with *Cyrus*, put the confidence in them they did. But relying on the antient opinion of their faith, they delivered themselves into their hands, and being brought to the king, had their heads cut off. And many barbarians in that expedition perished in different ways by their treachery and deceit.

With respect likewise to these things, they are now degenerated from what they were. For in their primitive institution, if any one hazarded himself for his king, or subdued any city or nation, or performed any great or excellent action, he had honours conferred upon him. Now if any one, as *Mithridates* did *Ariobaranes*, betrays his father, and as *Leomitres*, his wife and children, and his friends children, left as hostages in *Ægypt*, in violation of the most solemn oaths and engagements, he is es-

teemed to have done what is profitable to his prince,
 and is loaded with the highest honours. “The
 “ *Asiatics* being spectators of these things, are them-
 “ selves sunk into impiety and injustice. For go-
 “ vernments always resemble their governors; and
 “ the prosperity or declension, the vigour or decay
 “ of all states, is derived from the virtues and vices,
 “ the abilities or weakness, of their rulers.” For this
 reason, they are more unjust now than they were
 formerly. They are likewise more corrupt with
 respect to riches; for they do not only imprison
 such as are highly criminal, but the innocent; and,
 contrary to justice, enforce the payment of their
 arbitrary impositions. So that they who have great
 estates, are under the same apprehensions as those
 that are involved in great crimes. For this reason they
 will not associate with the better sort, nor dare they
 enlist themselves in the king’s army. Therefore, those
 that are at war with them, may securely ravage the
 country without any opposition, if they are disposed
 to do it; which is owing to the impiety of the
Persians towards the gods, and their iniquity towards
 men. Thus are their minds and dispositions de-
 bauched to what they had been in their first in-
 stitution.

How defective they are in the care of their bodies,
 I will in the next place relate. It was part of their
 institution, not to spit, or blow the nose; but it is
 manifest, this was not intended to spare the dis-
 charges of the body, but they intended to disperse
 those

those humours by exercise and sweat, and by that means to fortify their bodies. And the custom of not spitting or blowing the nose yet continues, though that of exercising is not practised. They likewise originally used to make only one meal a day, that the rest of the day might be employed in action, and the dispatch of business; and that custom yet continues.—But beginning their meal very early, they continue eating and drinking till the latest fitters-up go to bed.

It was likewise an institution among them, not to bring large bottles to their banquets; evidently thinking, that by not drinking to excess, they should neither weaken their bodies, nor impair their understandings. And that custom too continues, of not bringing such bottles; but they drink to such excess, that instead of bringing in, they are carried out themselves, not being able to walk without help. It was also a custom of their country, when they were on a journey, neither to eat nor drink, nor to do publickly what is the necessary consequence of both. Abstinence from these things yet continues: But their journeys are so short, that their abstaining from those necessities is nothing wonderful or extraordinary.

FORMERLY they went a hunting so often, that those chaces were sufficient exercise for themselves and their horses. But since king *Artaxerxes* and his companions have debauched themselves with wine, they do not so frequently go out themselves, nor

lead others those chaces. Wherefore, if some, from a fondness to exercise, have gone out a hunting, they have manifestly incurred envy and hatred from those who thought it a mark of superiority, and of being better than themselves.

THE custom yet likewise continues, of a publick education of the children; but the practice of horsemanship is neglected, because there are no publick assemblies where they can gain applause by those exercises. And this institution is in every circumstance altered; that the boys, hearing the just and equitable determinations of private causes, were instructed in justice and equity; for now they see those certainly prevail, who give the most exorbitant bribes. Formerly likewise, boys were taught the virtues of the several productions of the earth, by which means they made use of such as were good, and abstained from those that were noxious. At this time they seem to be only instructed how to do the most hurt, therefore deaths and poisonings are no where so frequent as amongst them. And they are now much more luxurious than in *Cyrus's* time. For then they practised the *Persian* institutions and temperance, and conformed to the dress and elegance of the *Medes*; but now they have suffered the severity of the *Persians* to be quite extinguished, and retain the effeminacy of the *Medes*, which effeminacy and delicacy of theirs, I have a mind to explain.

IN the first place, it is not sufficient for them to have soft couches, but they must have carpets for
their

their feet, that the floors may not, by resistance, make a noise, but that the carpets may break the sound. There is no diminution of what victuals used formerly to supply their tables, but new continually invented. And the like in sauces, for they are provided with cooks, who supply them with variety in both kinds. In winter it is not sufficient for them to cover their heads, their bodies, and their feet, but they have hair gloves for their hands. In summer, the shade of trees and of rocks does not satisfy them, but under these, men stand near them with artificial shades contrived on purpose. If they possess a great number of cups, they are puffed up with it as a piece of magnificence; and if these be unjustly acquired, they do not consider it as infamous; for injustice, and a sordid love of gain, is mightily increased among them. Formerly it was a custom of their country, never to be seen on foot on their journies, for no other reason, but in order to become more skilful horsemen. Now they have more coverings on their horses than on their couches; for they are not so careful of what concerns their horses, as to sit soft and at their ease.

WITH respect to the affairs of war, is it probable they should not be very much inferior to what they were at first? It was customary, in the beginning, that those who possessed lands should furnish horsemen for their army, and pay those that were in garrisons, if they fought in defence of the country; now porters, cooks, drawers, bed-makers, dressers,

waiters at the baths, servants at table, and perfumers, are enlisted in their horse by the great men, that they themselves may make an advantage of their pay. These make an appearance in number, but are of no use in war; which is manifest in experience, for their enemies have a freer passage through their country than their friends. When *Cyrus* had broke them of the custom of engaging at a distance, he armed with breast-plates both them and their horses, and gave every one a javelin in his hand, which they might use in a close battle; but now they neither engage at a distance nor at hand. The foot have yet shields, and small swords or cutlasses, as in *Cyrus's* time, but they will not venture to come to an engagement. Neither are the chariots of that use *Cyrus* designed them; for he had made brave and skilful drivers, by bestowing rewards and honours upon them who would fall on the heavy-armed part of an army. The *Persians* now, scarce knowing who are in the chariots, imagine, that such as are unexercised in driving, understand it as well as those that have practised it. They do indeed make an attack, but before they can break into the enemy's ranks, some of their own accord fall off, others jump down and get away, so that the chariots, being without any guides, frequently do more injury to their friends than to their enemies. Since they themselves have been sensible how much they are defective in martial affairs, they yield to others, and none of them engage in a war without the help of the *Greeks*, whether it
be

be a domestic quarrel, or with the *Greeks* themselves; for they cannot engage even in a war with the *Greeks*, without the assistance of *Greeks*.

Now I think I have executed what I undertook. For I say it is evident, that the *Persians* and their allies have less piety towards the gods, less duty and regard to their relations, are less just and equitable in their dealings with others, more effeminate, and less fitted for war, than they were in their first institution. If any one thinks differently, let him consider their actions, and he will find them confirm what I say.

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